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ABSTRACT

The context and processes of language acquisition in bilingual, bicultural British-Pakistani and British-Asian children (ages 2-19) attending a school for severe learning difficulties (SLD) were investigated. The first study compared 20 children with SLD who had a proficiency in speaking English and in their mother tongue (Urdu, Punjabi, Hindko, or Pushto). In the second study, the language acquisition processes were observed in 10 children who initially attended the nursery department and were not talking in any language. In the third study, a video was made of early language and communication in two British-Asian infants with SLD. The video was shown to mothers of children with SLD, who had widely varying reactions to the ideas conveyed and play activities shown. Results of the studies indicate that school support of mother tongues was highly important in facilitating some children's language acquisition. Knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes of teachers and families appear to be crucial in providing or hindering access to mother tongue learning. Suggestions are made for enhancing awareness of the linguistic and cultural issues among school management, staff, and families; for improving school practice, largely by better use of existing resources; and for further research. Appendices include information about bilingualism and bilingual education. (Contains over 700 references.) (Author/CR)

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BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN SPECIAL EDUCATION: ACQUISITION OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE BY BRITISH PAKISTANI CHILDREN ATTENDING A SCHOOL FOR PUPILS WITH 'SEVERE LEARNING DIFFICULTIES'

by

CHRISTINE MILES

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BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN SPECIAL EDUCATION: ACQUISITION OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE BY BRITISH PAKISTANI CHILDREN ATTENDING A SCHOOL FOR PUPILS WITH 'SEVERE LEARNING DIFFICULTIES'.

Abstract

The context and processes of language acquisition in bilingual, bicultural, British Pakistani and Asian children attending a `Severe Learning Difficulties' school were investigated. Three studies developed, with an extended literature review: (1) Comparison of twenty children's proficiency in speaking English and mother tongues (Urdu, Punjabi, Hindko, Pushto). (2) Language acquisition processes were observed, through two years, in another ten children initially attending the nursery department and not talking in any language. Home patterns of mother-child communication were studied. Mothers received support and information. (3) A video was made of early language and communication skills in British Asian infants. It was shown to mothers, who had widely varying reactions to the ideas conveyed and play activities shown. The children had a great diversity of experiences and outcomes in terms of language abilities. School support to mother tongue was found highly important in facilitating some children's language acquisition. Knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of teachers and families appear to be crucial in providing or hindering access to mother tongue learning. Suggestions are made for enhancing awareness of the linguistic and cultural issues, among school management, staff and families; for improving school practice, largely by better use of existing resources; and for further research.

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

This study investigates the context and processes of language acquisition for bilingual, bicultural children attending schools for children with 'Severe Learning Difficulties' (hereafter 'SLD schools'). Weaknesses in current practices are identified and models for more effective intervention are considered. The topic should concern most British teachers of children having 'severe learning difficulties', as most parts of Britain have some families using minority languages. It has still broader relevance, as Cazden, Snow & Heise-Baigorria (1991) estimate that 60% of the world's children live in bilingual or multilingual environments.

The Warnock Report (Department of Education and Science, 1978, p.322, para. 18.15) listed 13 areas urgently needing research, including "the problems of children with special educational needs whose first language is not English." The National Curriculum Council (1991) acknowledged the need of some children for bilingual teaching support, and the value of group work in mother-tongue for speakers of minority languages. The implications of this for SLD schools need to be considered.

1.1 Definitions

In this study, the term bilingual is used for children who have daily exposure to two or more spoken languages, i.e. the language(s) in everyday use at home, and English, the medium of communication, teaching and therapy at school. This usage includes as 'bilingual' those children who do not yet express themselves verbally in any language, as well as those who are 'bilingual' in the more conventional sense of speaking two languages interchangeably. Romaine (1989) and Abudarham (1987) review and discuss some other uses of the term 'bilingual', but my definition is closer to that of Duncan (1989, p.20), that a bilingual person is one who lives in "a situation where both languages are continually needed for effective living".

The term Mother Tongue is here used for that language normally used by parents in their everyday family interactions. It is not necessarily the language which the child first learns to speak, as her first recognisable words may be spoken in English at school. For this reason 'mother tongue' (hereafter abbreviated MT) is preferred to 'L1' and 'L2' which commonly appear in the bilingualism literature. This use of MT also differs from that sometimes made by members of some ethnic minority communities, who may refer to the official, formal language used by their community as 'MT'. Some people of Pakistani origin will say that Urdu is their MT, while speaking a Punjabi dialect at home.

Severe learning difficulties. Many children acquire the label 'severe learning difficulties' well before the statutory school age and without formal tests of their learning ability. Delayed development is usually identified by medical personnel, and, following statutory procedures, arrangements are made for placement in special schools. At the time of this study some children were placed before reaching the age of two years. Before the implementation of the 1970 Education Act in April 1971, such children were deemed incapable of benefitting from school education. The Act resulted in the formation of a category of school which, for the first time, made educational provision available for all children in England and Wales. The term severe learning difficulties was preferred by the Warnock Committee (Department of Education and Science, 1978, p.43 para. 3.26) to 'mental handicap' or 'educationally sub-normal'.

The term 'severe learning difficulties' has been used above in apostrophes, or with some other qualification, to signal its problematic nature, especially with respect to children of language minority groups. Hereafter the apostrophes will not appear.

The term 'special educational needs' is used to refer to children in need of additional support during their education as a result of learning difficulty or sensory impairment. In Britain this does not include children whose need for support results solely from lack of knowledge of English as a second language.

'British Pakistanis' or 'Asian'. No one term accurately and acceptably describes families where some members migrated to Britain from Pakistan, some were born in Britain of migrant parents, some were born of British parents who consider themselves ethnically Pakistani, or culturally Asian, and other combinations. Terms in this study vary with context, but intend to be politically neutral.

1.2 Personal Interest

My interest in this topic arose during the period 1978-1989, while running a school in Pakistan for children with special educational needs, most of whom had severe learning difficulties or language delays. Pupils' families used a total of six languages. My policy of using MT with each child while developing their verbal communication skills resulted from my understanding, at that time, of theories of learning and language acquisition.

and the school's aim of preparing children for a life largely within their family and community groups. This approach was influenced by experience of educational attitudes to the Welsh language during my childhood, and awareness of the changes of opinion that have taken place in Welsh educational circles on the value of bilingual education. However, this multilingual policy was unusual and potentially controversial in Pakistan. Most special schools use the national language, Urdu, the MT of less than 8% of the population. I tried with little success to find theoretical justification for, or examples of, a similar multilingual approach in use in countries with more developed special education systems.

On return to England I worked in, and visited, schools with a substantial proportion of ethnic minority pupils, where all teaching took place in English, following English cultural norms. Bilingual support, where available, was not used in a planned, effective way for those children with limited language and communication skills. Seeing pupils of minority language communities failing to acquire adequate verbal skills in any language, I found myself questioning current practice in schools. Absence of support for children's MTs seemed likely to be a factor affecting their acquisition of language skills.

1.3 Bilingualism in Special Education (i) In Pakistan

Peshawar, capital of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) is a multilingual city. Most men speak at least three languages during a normal day's activities, switching from one to another without apparent concern for any external standard of correctness. Women, as a result of cultural norms of gender segregation, often speak only one language. Education is normally conducted in Urdu, apart from elite private English-medium schools, though Urdu is the MT of less than 1% in NWFP (Federal Bureau, 1990, p.87). Rauf (1975) made a plea for the early years of education to be in children's MT, but there is no indication of any change. Many of our pupils' 'normal' siblings did not attend school, and few of their mothers had done so. Official literacy levels in the NWFP are 25.9% for all men and 21.9% for urban women, but only 6.5% for all women (Federal Bureau, 1990, p.85).

The three languages most commonly spoken in Peshawar are Pushto, Hindko, and Urdu, with a sizeable minority of Punjabi speakers. Most of the staff could speak all four of these languages, while I formally studied Urdu and Pushto, and informally acquired some Hindko and dialects of Punjabi. There are also minority communities speaking other unrelated languages, including Persian, languages of the mountain areas such as Chitrali or Shina, or those of other provinces such as Sindhi or Seraiki.

At my suggestion, the teachers began by addressing each child in the language of the child's family. Once children had established any one language as a means of communication they would start to pick up the other languages from classmates informally. When children could speak 'fluently', as judged subjectively by the individual teacher, Urdu was used more often, because literacy skills were taught in Urdu. Skills in Urdu were required for possible transfer to mainstream schools.

Two pupils had Chitrali MT, but no staff member spoke Chitrali. One of these pupils already had sufficient Urdu to be able to work in that language. The other was accompanied to school by his cousin, until his family engaged a Pushto-speaking servant to care for him and it became more appropriate to use that language. Later we enrolled Nerjish, a pupil with Persian MT. One teacher also had Persian MT, but Nerjish had no Persian-speaking peers at school. She was one of the few pupils who failed to acquire spoken language, over two years or more, though she used signs and gestures and showed other competencies.

The case of Nerjish caused me to question my policy - would it have been better if all children had been addressed in one language in school? Hearing several languages in use at any time might be particularly confusing to some children. However the success of the policy with most pupils, and their families' satisfaction with this, appeared to outweigh possible disadvantages.

1.4 Bilingualism in Special Education (ii) Return to England

On return from Pakistan I spent some months supply teaching in Yorkshire schools where 50% or more children were of Pakistani origin. Some of these children reminded me of Nerjish. They did not speak, but had comprehension skills in two languages and other non-verbal skills apparently at a higher level than monolingual non-speakers. Some pupils had MT abilities unknown to the school. One young man, Shahid, often muttered to himself. The school had no member of staff who spoke Shahid's MT, but an interpreter was engaged for an hour to listen to him. She reported, correctly, that Shahid was not using recognisable words. I started talking to him in his MT, and after some days he started responding in short, correct sentences, and sometimes initiated conversation. However, after two weeks he became angry and abusive if I used his MT. Perhaps he resented my demands, or felt his privacy threatened. He had reached 18 years without anyone demanding that he communicate. (His parents reported that he did not talk, but no detailed investigation had been made).

1.5 Is There A Problem?

As my interest developed, I asked teachers and other professionals for their views on the language needs of children from minority language homes. Those described here were collected informally at different times and places, and are not the results of a planned survey. Many teachers thought it too hard for children to learn two languages. Most teachers in England have little experience of speaking two languages. Unlike the situation in Wales and most parts of the world, in England the speaker of two languages is considered talented. This viewpoint hardly encourages teachers to help children with learning difficulties to become fluently bilingual. Such a view of the intellectual demands of bilingualism is not confined to England. Even in Belgium, where children are normally taught both official languages, those with learning difficulties may be excluded from lessons in the second language (Merry, 1989, p.390).

I enquired which language teachers considered more important, if children were not to be encouraged to be bilingual. Most expressed the view that English is of more importance in adult life, so use of other languages should not be encouraged. This assumes that the skills needed for use in the child's future life outside the home, as a client of services for people with disabilities, should take priority over learning skills for participation in family life. Some teachers regretted that children's families could not reinforce the language teaching received in English at school. Only one regretted that schools could not reinforce what the child had learnt at home. Some teachers appeared to assume that language is acquired mainly at school, rather than through interactions at home.

Some teachers' reasoning was apparently influenced by their socio-political views, perhaps a well-intentioned wish to encourage ethnic minority families to become better integrated into British society, or sometimes from hostility to any family practices that deviate from an imagined norm.

I asked whether teachers thought that a school's entirely monolingual approach, using English in teaching and therapy before children had learnt to speak their MT, created problems for acquisition of language. The view was expressed that these children have been identified as having severe learning difficulties, which suffices to explain all their language and communication problems. This attitude may be linked to the fact that schools lack the resources, or do not see reasons to allocate resources, to provide MT support to language minority children who cannot yet talk, so it is simpler not to identify such needs. Some professionals working with children identified as having learning difficulties appear to believe that it is 'politically incorrect' to identify minority children as having needs different to children from the majority community - even if the failure to do so means disregarding a central principle of modern special education, i.e. meeting individual needs.

Some argued that there are educational and/or linguistic reasons for the present monolingual practice. One teacher suggested that children make better progress if they do not hear their MT at school, so that they will have clearly defined contexts for each language. Some teachers and therapists expressed the view that any difficulties which arise through bilingualism can be solved by teaching children a third language - a manual sign vocabulary.

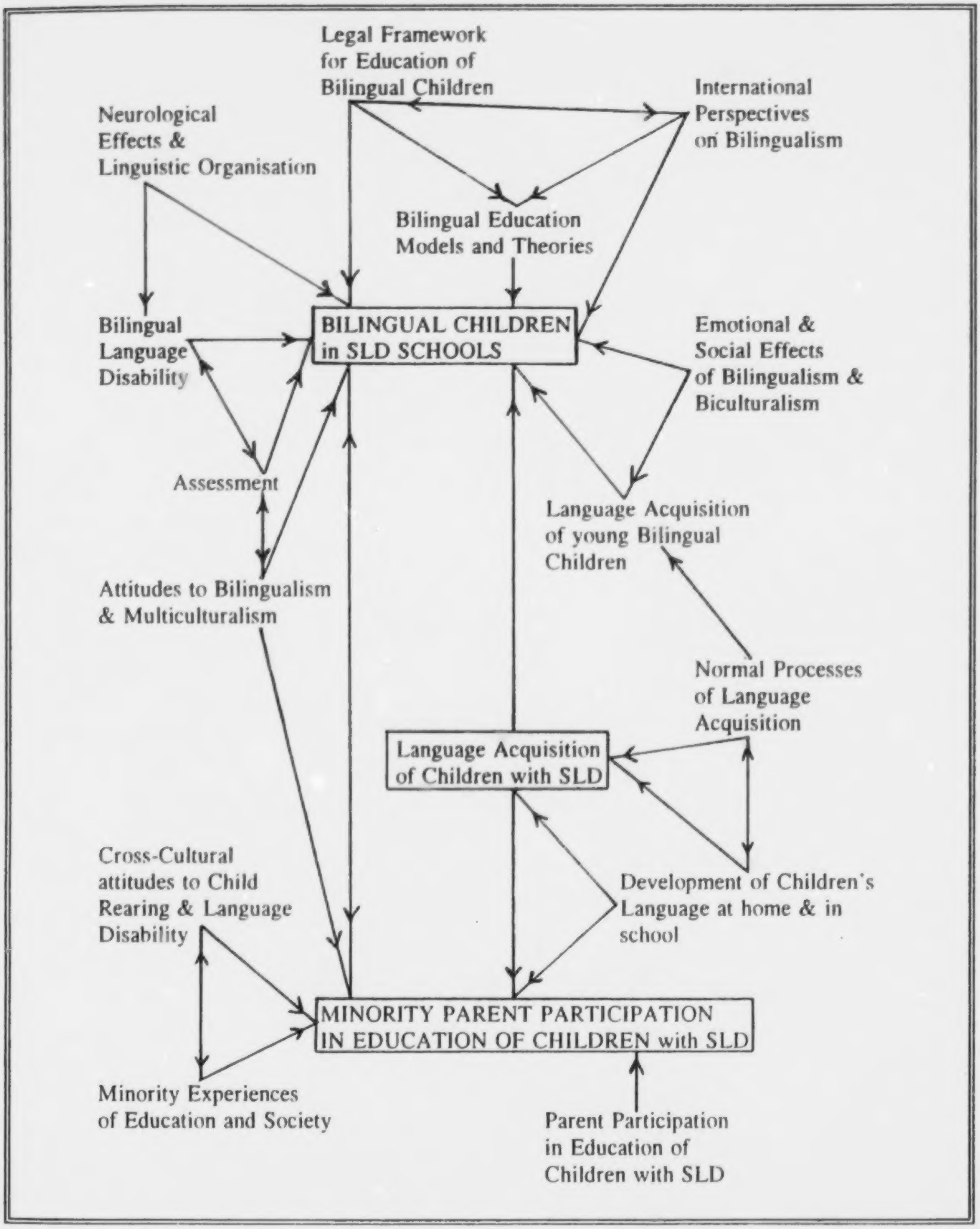
None of the teachers with whom I discussed these issues had made any study of issues related to bilingualism, and most had no specialised knowledge of language development. There was clearly a need for this knowledge to be made available to teachers.

The present study aims both to clarify key issues relating to bilingual children in special schools, and to identify ways in which present resources might be used more effectively. In the present economic climate, this will be necessary before suggesting approaches requiring increased expenditure.

1.6 Development of Research Plans

This study is exploratory, there being little reported research on the needs of bilingual children with severe learning difficulties. While there is little literature directly on this topic, there are many related subjects, the study of which might produce relevant insights. Figure 1 (next page) shows seventeen related topics which I decided to explore, in an extended literature survey, searching for possible implications for bilingual children in SLD schools. This literature search resulted in some insights, not all of which were reflected in the fieldwork.

Figure 1: Topics related to my research.


Legal Framework for Education of Bilingual Children
International Perspectives on Bilingualism
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Attitudes to Bilingualism & Multiculturalism
Normal Processes of Language Acquisition
Language Acquisition of Children with SLD
Cross-Cultural attitudes to Child Rearing & Language Disability
Development of Children's Language at home & in school
MINORITY PARENT PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION OF CHILDREN with SLD
Minority Experiences of Education and Society
Parent Participation in Education of Children with SLD

The topics focused on three main areas: language acquisition and teaching in SLD schools (Chapter 2), bilingualism (Chapters 3 and 4) and linguistic minority parents and their participation in their children's special education (Chapter 5). Some topics were found to have less practical significance at this stage. These appear in Appendices 2-6.

While the literature search is written in a traditional form, preceding my descriptions of practical fieldwork, in fact my reading took place before, during and after completing the fieldwork. Topics covered were influenced by my practical findings, as well as shaping the directions of practical work.

My initial focus was on language in schools. I planned to examine the effects of the present monolingual practice on language acquisition and to explore alternatives. I aimed to increase opportunities for parental involvement in their child's education, with parents providing MT language work alongside the school's English work. I did not wish to take an intrusive approach, believing that parents' interactions with their children belong to themselves, not to a 'school programme'. However, the aim of providing 'culturally appropriate' information to parents about language development, so that they could help their children, became a large part of the study. This resulted in the investigation of language interactions between family members and their child and led to some unexpected findings about mothers' concepts of their role in relating to their children.

1.7 Outline of Fieldwork

The fieldwork took place in a large, all-age (2 - 19 years) SLD school, and in pupils' homes. The families of 80% of pupils at the school originated in the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. The research developed into three studies, (Chapters 7, 8 and 9).

1. In the first study the proficiency of children in speaking English and their MT was compared.
2. The second study involved observing a group of children over a two year period. When the study began, these children attended the nursery department and had not yet started to talk in any language. The processes of language acquisition were observed. Mothers were included in the study. They were visited, their patterns of communication with their child were discussed, and they were given support and information.
3. For the third study a video film was prepared, concerning early language and communication skills. It was shown to mothers, to test its effectiveness as an information medium for mothers unable to read, and to explore mothers' opinions of the views expressed and activities shown.

1.8 Right To Do This Study

The ethics of studies of minority communities, made by people who may be perceived as belonging to more powerful, dominant communities, have been questioned. A conference in Yugoslavia recommended that:

> "A precondition for majority group researchers to work in the interests of migrant minorities and escape from ethnocentricity is that they have first hand experience, affectively and cognitively, of using the language and living in the culture of the minorities." (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990, p.97; citing Murdzeva-Skaric, 1987, p.178).

Apart from my own secondary education as a Welsh child in a monolingual, monocultural English boarding school, I believe that my experience of living and working for 11 years in Pakistan, where I learnt four languages, taught some 200 children with special educational needs, and advised over 2,000 Pakistani families, qualifies me according to these suggested criteria. Moreover, the purpose of this research is to explore ways in which a group of children, described as having severe learning difficulties, can be provided with more effective services. While this may not currently be a priority for their community leaders, it is of considerable concern for the children's parents, and should also be so for teachers. I know of no studies on bilingualism of children with severe learning difficulties within Pakistan. None appear in the bibliographies of M. Miles (1991), Venkatesan & Vepuri (1995), Linguistic Society of India (1990), nor have British Asian teachers or researchers yet published research in this area. National Institute (1987) reports the perceptions of a group of Pakistani special teachers regarding the relative advantages of MT or of Urdu medium literacy teaching.

Chapter 2. LANGUAGE ACQUISITION & CHILDREN WITH SEVERE LEARNING DIFFICULTIES

This chapter explores some theories of language acquisition, and research relating to the teaching of language to children with severe learning difficulties. The purpose of this literature study is to provide a framework for understanding practice in SLD schools and to search for implications for the needs of bilingual children acquiring language while attending SLD schools.

2.1 Theoretical Basis of Language Practices in Special Schools

Kiernan (1988, p.51; 1992), Goldbart (1988) and Harris (1988, 1990) find that much current practice of teaching language and communication skills in SLD schools is not based on modern theories of language acquisition. They note that many language programmes in special schools are largely based on Skinner's behavioural approach proposed in 1957; or Chomsky's grammatical theories following his 1959 response to Skinner. Some teaching schemes base their assessment methods and choice of teaching objectives on Chomsky's grammatical structures, while using Skinner's behavioural methods as teaching techniques. Harris (1988) found that many teachers had little awareness of more recent theoretical developments regarding language acquisition.

2.1.1 Skinner: the behavioural approach

Skinner published his theory of language acquisition in Verbal Behaviour (1957). He saw language as a form of behaviour which a child learns to repeat when her action is reinforced. He rejected the idea of language as an expression of internal meaning, looking instead at the stimuli preceding, and type of reinforcement following, an utterance. Language has practical functions. A child learns that by making a sound she can cause something pleasurable to follow: after making one sound an action may occur, or the child receives something; a different sound results in emotional satisfaction through contact with another person. Skinner suggested that a child acquires speech by being reinforced at first for making any sounds, but gradually she is rewarded only for sounds that are accepted by the language community in which she lives, and she learns to echo sounds she hears others making. However, while Skinner's 'behaviour modification' approach became part of school practice, his ideas on the 'functions' of language were ignored by teachers (Harris, 1990). Children would be 'rewarded' in ways inappropriate for the language behaviour they were supposed to be learning, e.g. being given a sweet for saying "Hello", rather than being rewarded by the adult's attention and further communication.

Skinner's work on language has been strongly criticised by other linguists since Chomsky (1959) reviewed Verbal Behaviour. Harris (1990) and Goldbart (1988) note that Skinner's theories were not based on observations of children acquiring language. He failed to explain how a child quickly starts using word combinations without being taught in a structured way. Nevertheless, reinforcement clearly plays a part in the acquisition of basic communication skills. A child is unlikely to continue trying to communicate if she never receives any response. Skinner's theory sees language as a skill which is learnt, so is amenable to intervention when learning is delayed; but Goldbart (1988) thinks it impossible to teach natural conversational skills by these methods. Harris (1990, p.70), while recognising that behavioural methods can be effective in changing children's 'language behaviour', points out that children may learn to produce phrases in formal training sessions, but be unable to use them spontaneously elsewhere.

Skinner's comments on the possible effects of immersing a child in a second language are, however, noteworthy. He argued that a child is 'punished' (i.e. no reinforcement is given) by a lack of response to her attempts to communicate, and this could result in a general reduction of communicative behaviour (Skinner, 1957, pp.167-168). From a behavioural perspective, the child with delayed language should be reinforced for talking and communicating. From this it can be deduced that, during the early school years, bilingual staff should be available to encourage all the child's appropriate attempts at communicating; and to help monolingual staff develop sensitivity to different cultural modes of expression, so that they may respond appropriately to children's efforts even with minimal personal knowledge of the second language.

Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991, p.55) write that from a behavioural position, second language learning (in the 'normal' educational system, when first language skills are already established) was viewed as

> "a process of overcoming the habits of the native language in order to acquire the new habits of the target language."

The bilingual person would thus use one language in one environment, while a different environment would trigger a change of language. However, on the basis of Skinner's own writing it would appear that the child with limited communication skills would be less likely to learn to talk when immersed in a second language.

2.1.2 Chomsky

Chomsky described language in grammatical terms. He suggested that children are born with an innate language learning potential, the Language Acquisition Device (LAD), which enables them to acquire the rules of a particular language from experience and observation of that language in use. From this perspective people with severe learning difficulties would be regarded as having

> "impaired, delayed or even non-existent language acquisition devices". (Goldbart, 1986, p.156).

The LAD is often connected with the idea of a 'critical period' for language acquisition, a view proposed by Lenneberg (1967), although Singleton (1989, pp.221-227) suggests that this was peripheral to Chomsky's own position. While grounds may exist for the 'critical period' idea in first language acquisition, Singleton (1989) finds no reason why this should apply also to second language learning. Nevertheless the 'critical period' idea has influenced second language teaching by justifying a sense of urgency - especially when applied to speakers of minority languages - to begin the second language as early as possible. In practice this is often taken to mean school entry or before, when applied to speakers of minority languages learning a majority language, although Kessler (1971) thought the LAD functioned until the child was about twelve years old. Chomsky (1959) noted the ease with which children pick up a second language from other children on the street. Writers such as Cummins (1984) and Wong Fillmore (1991) also note the rapid pick-up of *social uses* of a second language, but indicate that several years may elapse before children can use their second languages in cognitive learning (see Section 3.5.3).

2.2 More Recent Developments In Theory & Practice

Since the 1970s there has been much progress in theoretical studies of child language development. Recently these have resulted in the development of materials for teachers in SLD schools such as those of Coupe & Goldbart (1988), Aherne & Thornber (1990) and Harris & Wimpory (1991). Actual influence on school practice is, however, less clearly evident.

Many of the children attending SLD schools follow the same patterns of language acquisition as 'normally developing children', their delay in acquiring language being similar to their delay in other cognitive skills; other children have particular difficulties which result in their pattern of language development appearing different, or 'disordered'. (Kiernan, 1985, pp.588-603; Rondal, 1988, 1985; Kamhi & Masterson, 1989; Miller, Chapman & Mackenzie, 1981). An understanding of normal processes of language development should form a basis for teaching in SLD schools. Bloom & Lahey (1978) and Crystal (1982, 1989) provide means of identifying how some children's skills diverge from those found in normally developing children and approaches for overcoming their difficulties.

2.2.1 Meaning

Many linguists (e.g. Bloom, Bowerman, Nelson, Clark, writing from the 1970s to the present) have focused their studies on ways children use language to express *meaning*. The relationship between language and cognition, how children attach meanings to words, and the ways in which children learn to combine words to express ideas, are still being studied, in growing depth. This area is relevant to the child learning to express meanings while learning two languages concurrently.

The Piagetian approach regards cognitive development as preceding language: words are learnt to express concepts which have already been acquired (Crystal, 1987, pp.234-235; Anisfeld, 1984). This would imply that the bilingual child learns a single concept, then two ways of expressing it. Whorf (1956) suggested that concepts develop in accordance with language experience, so that speakers of different languages would also develop a different cognitive framework. This appears to imply that the bilingual child would develop two separate cognitive frameworks. Vygotsky is also understood to suggest that cognitive development is dependent on language, while being shaped by social and cultural experiences (Foley, 1991, Smith, 1993). More recently, Kamhi & Masterson (1989), Cromer (1991), and Bowerman (1981, 1985, 1989) suggest that both language and concept develop together, with bi-directional influence. Bowerman (1989, pp.142-159) finds evidence for the forms of language influencing concepts of spatial relationships such as those expressed in English by In/Out/On/Off/Under/Over.

Some writers have found a distinction between two early ways of using words. Anisfeld (1984) refers to 'signs' and 'symbols'; Barrett to 'context bound' and 'non-context bound' words (1986; Barrett & Diniz, 1989; Harris et al, 1988). The 'signs' or 'context-bound' words are "only used in a single highly specific behavioural context" (Barrett, Harris & Chasin, 1991, p.21), while the 'non-context bound words' are linked to a mental representation or 'prototype' object. A process of negotiation takes place where a child may use a word in unconventional ways, 'overextending' or 'underextending' (Bloom, 1973; Bowerman, 1976, 1989; Anisfeld, 1984) until her 'prototype' is modified to conform to that in use within her language community. Bowerman (1989, p.139) suggests that the use of a word which is overextension in one language reflects appropriate use in another language, e.g. the use of a single word to express fingers and toes in some languages. Children who experience different language environments at home and in school have more limited experience of the ways in which a word may be used, and so their use of words may remain 'context bound' for longer, delaying the formation of internalised concepts.

Intuitively it would appear easier to acquire a concept and expression in one language and, once that is used correctly, learn the appropriate expression in the other language, rather than attempting to acquire the concept using two languages concurrently. Pearson & Fernandez (1994), studying twenty 'simultaneous' bilingual children up to the age of 30 months, found they first learned words in one language, then, weeks or months later, started to use the equivalent word in the other language. Children were not reported as acquiring two words for the same item at the same time. Parallels might be drawn from studies of children learning mathematical concepts. Adetula (1989) and Cardelle-Elawar (1990) found much benefit in children learning mathematics first in their MT rather than the second language usually used in schools. Once the concepts were mastered in the MT, the necessary second language words and phrases were readily acquired. Song & Ginsberg (1988) also reported that Korean children found it hard to learn two counting systems at the same time. Paulston (1990) distinguishes between learning words to express a concept (for which she accepts MT may provide necessary support) and learning a new item of vocabulary, such as the word for 'capital letter' which is purely a label. In the latter case she suggests that learning the first language equivalent is irrelevant. However, in the early stages of language acquisition, vocabulary is related to conceptual development. Paulston's argument applies only to vocabulary items whose use is limited to the school context.

The language acquisition research described above focuses mostly on children's *use* of language. Teachers of children with learning difficulties, however, often emphasise the difference between 'receptive' and 'expressive' language. Kiernan (1988) points out, and Kamhi & Masterson (1989) refer to experimental evidence, that some children have greater delay in language production than in comprehension.

Nelson (1981) suggests that, for all children, learning the mechanics of sound production may delay the first use of words. The different aspects of memory, 'recognition' and 'recall', may also play a part in this delay. A child may 'recognise' a word which she hears, while unable to 'recall' it. Anisfeld (1984, p.25) suggests that 'recall' requires internal representation while 'recognition' requires only a response to a familiar stimulus. Bloom (1993) suggests that, at first, recall will occur only in a situation that replicates the original stimulus. Later recall will become easier as the child compares her perception with an internalised image.

Differences between receptive and expressive language may be greater when children have less personal or social motivation to communicate. Some children with learning difficulties have less interest in communicating than is considered 'normal'. There are considerable cultural differences in adult's expectations of children's communication. Chapter 5 reviews different cultural patterns of child language socialisation; but there is also a great range between different social groups or individuals within one culture.

2.2.2 Social communication

The relationship between language and *social interaction* has been emphasised by writers such as Halliday and Bruner. A child's wish or need to communicate with others is seen as having a central role in learning to talk. Language is seen as developing from a baby's early forms of communication, supported and directed by caregivers.

Most reported work in the area of social interaction is based on studies of children and their caregivers in European or American contexts, which diverge considerably from socialisation patterns of some other cultures (see Chapter 5). Vygotsky's work in the Soviet Union, in the 1920s and 1930s, has become better known in the west in the 1980s through translations. This has drawn further attention to the close relationship between culture and the learning of language (Sutton, 1988). Vygotsky saw learning as taking place when a child is enabled by the support of another person to perform actions or achieve results she could not achieve unaided. He wrote of the 'Zone of Proximal Development', those actions which can be performed when supported, but not if unaided (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).

Halliday (1975) recorded his son's early utterances and analyzed the different functions for which they were used, from the age of six months when

> "he uses his voice to order people about, to get them to do things for him; he uses it to demand certain objects or services; he uses it to make contact with people, to feel close to them;" (p.11).

Thus, a child is encouraged to acquire language skills by parents and carers responding to his attempts to communicate with them. Halliday (1975) listed the following functions used by a young child in communication:

Instrumental	-	expressing 'I want'.
Regulatory	-	'Do that' or 'let's...'.
Interaction	-	greetings, names, expressions of togetherness.
Personal	-	awareness of self, 'here I come'.
Heuristic	-	seeking information, 'tell me'.
Imaginative	-	'let's pretend'.
Informative	-	telling others things.

Halliday had hypothesised that these functions would be acquired in the order listed. Observing his son, however, he found that the first four functions were acquired concurrently. The Heuristic and Imaginative functions followed; the Informative function was achieved much later. The first six functions took place in a shared context, whereas giving information involves use of language without other supports. Language is at first an expression of shared experience; the Informative function enables language to become an alternative to this experience.

Halliday supposed that the first functions of a child's communication are independent of any particular language, but are features of life in all cultures. The child is, however at the same time constructing "a model of the culture of which he is himself a member" (ibid., p.66.) This process is under way by the time the child is nine months old, so that the child's "meaning potential develops as the representation of the social system and of his own place in it" (ibid., p.66).

It is suggested (Price, 1989; Bruner, 1975, Trevarthan, 1974; Halliday, 1975), that even before children consciously communicate, carers respond to certain of their actions and sounds *as though they were meaningful*. For example, Bruner (1975, following Vygotsky, see reprint edition, 1991) describes how the pointing gesture develops from an unsuccessful reaching attempt. Children gradually learn that certain sounds and actions produce predictable responses. Watson & Knight (1991) write of applying this by responding 'creatively' to children with very severe learning difficulties by imputing meaning to certain behaviour. However, cultural differences between home and school may result in different responses, so that the pre-linguistic child learns two separate codes of communication.

Following his studies of Vygotsky, Bruner suggested that the child develops language when support, or 'scaffolding', is provided through a LASS - Language Acquisition Support System (Bruner, 1986; Bruner & Bornstein, 1989). Bruner emphasised the importance of social routines such as those developed in games like 'peekaboo', finding games, picture naming games. Routines enable the child to acquire skills of shared attention and joint action with another person - the child learns both *to communicate* with another person, and *how to communicate* some meaning or message. The child gradually learns to interpret the adult's meaning, within the context of these routines.

These routines play an important part in the infancy of children of culturally dominant groups in Western society, yet they are far from universal. Heath (1989, p.342) points out that children still learn to talk in societies where such games are not played. Snow (1989, p.93) suggests that children from different backgrounds and cultures take different routes toward language acquisition. However, she also suggests that

> "Just as culture defines what constitutes normal social interaction it also defines what constitutes normal language ability. It is naive to expect uniformity, either in facilitative features or in definition of optimal outcome, given the deep, serious effect of culture on these matters" (Snow, 1989, p.93).

In all cultures, most children learn to talk, according to a pattern and time scale typical for their society. However, the situation of children belonging to minority groups is that, at certain public moments such as entry to school, they are likely to be measured by the patterns of development of the dominant groups in their society. Sutton (1988) refers to Vygotsky's work showing how members of some Central Asian cultural groups developed styles of language and cognitive patterns which disadvantaged them within the Soviet system of education. Even when test items were translated and pictures changed to take into account local culture, most minority children scored poorly. Kayser (1990) shows how children from minority cultures may be defined by professionals from the dominant culture as having a language 'disorder' when their language use conforms to the patterns of their own ethnic group.

Writers who focus on the cognitive aspects of child language acquisition see language and thought as developing together. Bloom (1993) writes of language developing *from* the child's thoughts and feelings, and her social need to share these. However, writers who focus on social and communicative aspects of language see the language of thought as developing from the language learnt for communication. Vygotsky saw children as first acquiring social communication skills. Language learnt for communication was later used for 'egocentric' or private speech. Vygotsky used this term for the speech used by children at play, which often seems incomprehensible to others. He argued (reprint translation 1988) that this 'egocentric speech' has a primarily social role, as it may be interpreted by others and responses made. Eventually it leads to 'inner speech', the form of thought.

A young child in a special school may be at the stage of producing 'egocentric speech', while at play. Vygotsky stressed the importance of supporting egocentric speech in order to develop 'inner speech', the vehicle for thought and cognitive development. He noted (reprinted translation,1988) that children's production of egocentric speech stopped or was greatly reduced if they were placed with children speaking another language. Children speaking a minority language cannot have their egocentric speech interpreted and developed for them by play companions who do not speak that language. In my own observation, once a child has experienced two language environments, even a bilingual adult may find it hard at times to ascertain which language the child is speaking, in order to support and join in her play.

The effect of emotional factors on language acquisition has rarely been considered by researchers, as pointed out by Vygotsky (1956, cited by Hood Holzman 1985) and Bloom (1993). Bloom, in a research study to examine the effects of children's emotional states, suggests that physical expression of emotion competes with expression of speech, both requiring cognitive effort. A child who is feeling strong emotions is more likely to express herself non-verbally. Children more readily learn to use language in emotionally undemanding situations. All children are likely to experience stress in their first weeks at school, but cultural unfamiliarity is likely to increase the emotional demands (Trueba 1989, 1991a, 1991b).

There remain some conflicts between proponents of cognitive approaches to language development and those emphasising the continuum with early forms of social communication (Snow, 1989, p.83). Bowerman (1989) and Bloom (1993) argue that many of the 'meanings' children learn to express cannot easily be explained by their interactive needs, and that the development of language is distinct from the communication of 'affect'. Approaches to teaching children in SLD schools should take both perspectives into account; however, many such children first need to develop basic strategies for social communication.

2.3 Developments in Practices in Special Schools

2.3.1 Pre-verbal communication

Some children attending SLD schools do not talk. New approaches to teaching communication skills have developed from recent research into babies' patterns of communications. Coupe, Barton & Walker (1988), developing a programme for pre-verbal children in a special school, list the following 'meanings' which they teach children to communicate, initially by a look, gesture or vocalisation, and when communication is established, by using signs or words:

> *Existence* (acknowledging an object or person's existence by naming, touching, pointing or looking); *Disappearance* (a verbal comment such as 'gone' or a gesture or look); *Recurrence*; *Non-existence*; *Location* (commenting on or requesting change in the position of an object); *Possession*; *Rejection*; *Denial*; *Agent*; *Object* (the person or object affected by an action); *Action*; and *Attribute*. (ibid., pp.77-80).

How might a child whose home experience is linguistically and culturally different from the school be affected by such a programme? The child is acquiring one 'system' (including gesture, face and body movements), at home, which is an effective means of communication, but is then being taught a different system at school.

While some writers (e.g. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1988) suggest that early facial expressions (smiling and crying) always elicit similar responses and so develop similar meanings in all cultures, these expressions will begin to be modified by the culture within a few months. Gesture, facial expression, volume and tone of voice, tempo and rhythm of speech, patterns of laughing, crying, sighing, gaze movements, body postures all vary cross-culturally (Poyatos, 1988). Indeed Raffler-Engel (1988) suggests that a baby's earliest nonverbal behaviour may be influenced 'in utero' by the mother's patterns of movements and voice patterns.

Watson & Knight (1991) and Coupe, Barber & Murphy (1988) recommend close observation to identify a child's personal ways of communicating. Such an approach should be an effective way of overcoming cultural and individual differences in the child's behaviour, particularly if the teacher works in cooperation with the child's family. The teacher also needs to be sensitive to how a culturally different child may interpret her behaviour. Teachers may have facial expressions and tones of voice that are unfamiliar and possibly alarming to the child. If frightened or discouraged, children are less likely to try to communicate.

2.3.2 Learning to talk. Using words to express meanings

Many children at SLD schools are at the stage of using single word utterances. Teachers usually aim to help them expand their vocabulary and build longer sentences; but MacDonald & Gillette (1988, p.229) suggest that a more effective approach would be to encourage a habit of communicating and interacting with others. Kiernan (1988, 1992), Goldbart (1988) and Harris (1988, 1990) are unenthusiastic about the emphasis in many classrooms on *naming* activities, often based in picture books. Progressive approaches, such as that of Aherne & Thornber (1990), and Harris & Wimpory (1991) now focus more on the social and interactive skills required in talking.

However, while these new approaches were developing, many other changes occurred in schools, some of them enforced by legal requirements. The National Curriculum, testing, integration programmes, development of a technology curriculum, records of achievement plans, local management issues and other effects of recent Education Acts, have taken priority over updating teaching methods in the light of current research and theories, unless the school or individual teachers were highly motivated.

Some schools have moved from a behavioural, checklist-dominated approach, but failed to find a structured alternative, such as the interactive approach outlined by Harris (1993). Without the support of developmental lists some teachers remain unaware of their pupils' strengths, interests and needs - and so cease planning the curriculum around the needs of the individual child.

Mahoney, Robinson & Powell (1992) recommend a less directive approach, at least for younger children, with teachers providing appropriate opportunities for experience and responding to and exploiting the child's own interests. Kiernan (1992, p.95) describes the teacher's job as "setting occasions for communication" and "encouraging" rather than "directing" the child's expression.

2.3.3 Signing

Some schools use signing as an approach to teaching language skills. However, methods of teaching a signed vocabulary are subject to similar limitations as programmes for encouraging verbal development. Harris (1988, p.12) found that the usual method of teaching signs follows a behavioural approach, which, as already noted, bears little relation to current theories of the acquisition of communication skills. Kiernan (1985) asserted the value of signing for those apparently unable to speak. He found evidence that the learning of signing is sometimes accompanied by the development of speech, but a causal relationship could not be proven. Harris (1990, p.219) suggests that signing is, in effect, learning another language, and is unlikely directly to help the development of spoken language by children with learning difficulties. Nevertheless, if a child can learn to use signs more easily than speech, she is thereby provided with a means of communication that is valuable in itself.

Kiernan (1988, p.52) noticed that teachers emphasise the teaching of naming when using signs; children are required to produce a sign in response to the teacher's request. He doubted whether children who have learnt a vocabulary in this way will have the necessary skills to sign spontaneously.

Clibbens (1993) examined natural processes of sign acquisition, seen in deaf children interacting with deaf parents. He studied strategies for gaining children's attention and for teaching the position and movement required for the 'sign'; then used these processes with children having Down's Syndrome. These 'natural' methods appeared more effective in teaching children to sign spontaneously.

None of the literature on teaching of signing gives any reason to suppose that there are any particular benefits for bilingual children in learning to sign in addition to their spoken languages (which some teachers, in informal discussion, had suggested would be the case).

2.3.4 Inclusive Education

The current debate about inclusive education is likely to result in more children with learning difficulties being educated within mainstream provision. Mainstream schools are more often reported to have a positive attitude to bilingualism and to develop approaches which take into account children's ethnic and linguistic background, as described below in Sections 4.4, 4.5, 5.8. Children with learning difficulties will have classfellows able to talk normally, some of whom share the same MT. Classfellows who are developing more rapidly should, in theory, be able to provide adequate models of both the languages being acquired by bilingual children, and to provide support in the culturally unfamiliar situation. However, Lewis (1990) found that the more able peers did not generally provide opportunities for the children with learning difficulties to develop their interaction skills, a finding shared by Ware et al (1992), except where activities were carefully chosen and directed by the teacher. Hirschler (1994) describes an American experiment in training pre-school children in methods of interacting with 'second language learners' in their classes, which was very effective. A similar approach could be used to enable children to help children with special educational needs.

2.4 Parents, Children & Professionals

2.4.1 Approved models of parenting

Theories of child language acquisition have been based on studies of parent-child interactions, generally in middle-class European or North American contexts. Observations have usually been of mother and child, with no siblings present. From these an 'approved' model of parent-child interaction has grown, which is believed to facilitate language acquisition. The model expects the adult to take a responsive, non-directive role. She (it is usually assumed to be the mother) interprets the baby's movements and sounds and the child's words, building on the expressions and helping the child forward. In talking to the child, she speaks slowly, using short, simple utterances, with exaggerated pitch and stress, talking about shared activities (Price, 1989, p.190). In addition to frequent conversational interactions, it is expected that the mother will also play structured games and read or tell stories.

A greater emphasis on a socio-cultural view of language acquisition may result in professionals taking a view that some parents, including some from ethnic minorities or from economically weaker social classes, are 'deficient', failing to provide what professionals regard as desirable patterns of interaction, rather than 'different', in providing an alternative route to skill acquisition. Pre-school programmes such as Head Start in America aimed to overcome such supposed 'deficiencies' (Zigler & Anderson 1979). Valentine & Stark (1979, pp.297-301) showed the range of attitudes towards parental participation in different Head Start projects - some planners saw projects as giving training in parenting to economically poor parents (assumed to be poor also in parenting abilities); while other projects are actually controlled by parents.

2.4.2 Schools and home

In practice, many children have more stimulating experiences of language at home than at school. Wells (1981) and Tizard & Hughes (1984) compared British pre-school children's language experience at home, and in schools and nurseries, demonstrating that children have more opportunities for developing language in the former than the latter. There was limited pupil-teacher interaction in schools. The usual activity consisted of teachers asking, and children answering, questions to which the teachers already knew the answers.

The view that linguistically stimulating environments were restricted to middle-class homes was rejected by Tizard & Hughes (1984). They found working-class British mothers providing stimulating linguistic environments, although differences in style and content were apparent in comparing middle-class and working-class homes. They noted that working-class children were less communicative at school than middle-class children - yet at home they demonstrated more than adequate skills, and were receiving more stimulation than they received at nursery.

2.4.3 Interaction with 'normally developing' and 'delayed' children

McConachie (1986), Conti-Ramsden (1989), Price (1989) and Davis et al (1988) reviewed literature relating to differences, in mother-child interaction patterns, between mothers with a 'normal' child and those with a child with learning difficulties or language delay. Results have not all been consistent. Some found mothers of children with delayed language/learning difficulties to be more 'directive' than mothers of 'normal' children, using language largely to control their child's activities, and making few comments describing the context they are sharing with the child, or to which the child might respond verbally. Some studies found mothers more directive only when engaging the child in structured tasks; while others found no difference from maternal interactions with normal children of a similar language level. Conti-Ramsden (1989) points to the need to be aware of individual differences between 'mentally-handicapped' children, and between individual parents. Conti-Ramsden & Dykins (1991) examined the difference in interactions between a mother and two of her children - a language-impaired child and a normal sibling of the same language development stage. Their results showed consistent patterns of interaction within the same family.

Mahoney (1988) describes his series of studies (Mahoney, 1983; Mahoney, Finger & Powell, 1985) of mothers' interactions with children having Down's syndrome. The mothers of the most communicative children were those who "enjoyed interacting" with the children and were least directive (Mahoney, 1988, p.204). In 1983 Mahoney found the children's communication skills were primarily related to the extent to which mothers responded to child-initiated communication. Mothers who ignored the child's attempts to communicate were themselves ignored by the child. Children whose mothers used a didactic or instructional style, however 'stimulating' they attempted to be, were the least responsive. Mahoney (1988) reported that mothers of the inactive children made the most demands, for action or for the child to change her focus of attention, and that their requests were at the highest levels of difficulty. He divided requests into 'easy', 'moderately difficult' and 'difficult' and found (p.208) that mothers of inactive Down's children made demands nine times more difficult than did the mothers of normal children.

It is sometimes suggested that over-directiveness may be a response to, rather than a cause of, the child's passivity (McConachie, 1986, p.132). Kalverboer & Wijnroks (1992) and Watson & Knight (1991) suggest that the child's lack of response during infancy results in parents becoming less interactive. Price (1989) and Marfo (1990) do not find sufficient evidence that maternal use of 'directives' is itself damaging. McConachie (1986, p.134) argues that

> "directiveness and sensitivity [in responding to the child] can be shown to be quite different dimensions",

while Marfo (1990, p.540) notes studies which have shown no correlation between directiveness and responsiveness. They regard responsiveness to the child's attempts to communicate as the crucial feature influencing interaction, and do not see a 'reduction of directives' as necessarily facilitating this.

All the studies above which refer to parent-child interaction with children with language or learning difficulties have been made in the context of European and North American majority culture. However, Srivastava et al (1978) also found that Indian mothers of children with learning difficulties communicated less with their children and provided less encouragement to their children to talk than did mothers of 'normal' children.

2.4.4 Professionally designed training courses on communication skills for parents

Mahoney (1988) and Hanrahan & Langlois (1988) describe parent training programmes designed to reduce maternal over-directiveness. Other programmes train parents to teach interactive skills, such as looking together, turn-taking, appropriate play, responsiveness to child's attempts to communicate (e.g. McConkey et al, 1982; McConkey & Price, 1986).

The comparative effectiveness of different types of parental training programmes has seldom been evaluated from the point of view of the child's progress. Girolametto (1988) used control groups, and found that children whose parents had been trained in becoming more responsive and less directive talked more than children of a control group.

Mahoney (1988) suggests that the results of programmes to modify parents' interactive behaviour usually show that parents who are already responsive towards their child make the most progress, while those with the lowest base-line scores make the least.

There remains a distinction between programmes for parents based on 'teaching' or 'therapy' sessions, and those which focus on the need to take advantage of opportunities to communicate, and engage in meaningful activities throughout the day rather than setting aside times and places for 'teaching' language. Theoretical controversies seem likely to maintain this distinction, possibly in a oppositional rather than complementary way (Sigel, 1983). However, it is more appropriate to match programmes to parents' perceptions of their role, rather than to the preference of professionals.

McConachie (1991) showed that programmes are more likely to be effective if they start from the same philosophical basis of child care as that held by the parents. Traditional programmes are effective only where parents share a "teaching-oriented philosophy of child-care". McConachie suggests it may be possible to develop programmes matching the philosophy and patterns of life of parents who take a different view of their role.

2.5 Summary of Issues Arising, Relevant to Bilingual Children with Learning Difficulties

Studies in children's acquisition of language over the past 30 years have resulted in numerous controversies. These will doubtless continue, the overview of research literature demonstrating the complexity of the field. The following issues are identified as of concern regarding bilingual children, and some questions are identified for consideration during field research.

1. Both the traditional, behavioural viewpoint and the modern social-communicative models of language development predict that ignoring children's attempts to communicate will have negative effects on their language development. To make appropriate responses, teachers need an adequate knowledge of their pupils' MTs. This may require a bilingual person to spend some time in the classroom, observing children and explaining their actions and vocalisations to the teacher. The field research may provide insights into children's responses to the language they hear in the classroom and the effect on children of teachers' responses (if any) to their attempts to communicate in their MT.

2. Within an SLD school, peers are unable to provide good models of language skills in any language. The field research will identify whether any children appear particularly disadvantaged by this.

3. The emotional stresses of an unfamiliar, culturally different environment may inhibit language learning.

4. A child starts to learn about language long before she starts to talk. Differences in facial expression, body language and voice intonation patterns are a 'second language' for children.

5. Unfamiliar patterns of movement, facial expressions and sounds may be interpreted as threatening by a child.

6. Some teachers believe there is an early 'critical period' for second language learning, but there is no evidence for this in the research literature.

7. The relationship between cognition and language suggests that adults should use a child's most advanced language skills (which will almost always be MT) to facilitate her cognitive development. Once cognitive skills are established using the MT, the child may learn how to express these skills using the second language. The field research will try to demonstrate the children's relative proficiency in their MT and English.

8. Different cultural patterns of parent-child interaction may accompany different patterns of child development. However, assessment for educational placement usually accords with the developmental norms of the dominant culture. As a result of this a child may find herself in a school where the curriculum is designed for less able children, teacher expectations are low, and her peers cannot provide suitable opportunities for social and linguistic development. More flexibility in school placement could result in transfer, if this were seen to be appropriate; however some children will not have the opportunity to demonstrate their potential within an SLD school. The field research may identify some children placed in an SLD school because of culturally inappropriate assessment procedures.

9. A child may have more comprehension skills than expressive language in her MT. Her overall language development could be facilitated if she had encouragement to develop her use of this language in school. The fieldwork will identify children who have comprehension skills in their first language, which, with support would enable the child to learn to talk more quickly.

10. Teachers should not generalise about which language will be more useful to pupils in their future lives. Schools should beware of making assumptions about this.

11. Studying the relative proficiency of children in their MT and English may be an indicator of the relative effectiveness of school and home as environments for language learning. (Results will not be generalisable to other schools, using more effective methods, and homes can be expected to vary - but certain factors may be identified as influencing results.)

12. The research literature gives no reason to suppose that signing helps the child to acquire two languages. Field research may produce further insights into this.

Chapter 3. BILINGUALISM & BILINGUAL EDUCATION

This chapter examines issues and research on bilingualism and practices in bilingual education. These are examined to find implications for children regarded as having severe learning difficulties, growing up in situations where they experience two languages.

3.1 Bilingualism - International Perspectives

Attitudes to bilingualism are shaped by experience. Different communities and individuals have very different experiences of bilingualism. Many English people have little experience of bilingual communities, and are unaware that, in global terms, it is their experience which is unusual.

It is estimated that 60% of the world's children are growing up to use more than one language (Cazden et al, 1991). Bilingualism occurs in a wide range of contexts. Social and political relations are defined by the status of the various languages. Following Fishman (1967, 1980) a distinction is often made between 'bilingualism' and 'diglossia'. Bilingualism refers to the individual's ability to use more than one language, while diglossia occurs in communities where more than one language is used for different purposes. Peshawar, Pakistan, is a diglossic (or multiglossic) community, in which a person with Pushto MT may use Pushto with family and friends, Hindko with other friends and tradespeople, Urdu and/or English in educational contexts and for business or professional matters, and Arabic in prayer. In diglossic societies there is often a 'high' form of language for formal use and a 'low' form for casual interactions - many Punjabi[1] speakers in Pakistan regard Pujabi as a 'low' form, using Urdu as the 'high' form.

The term dialect is generally used to refer to regional or societal variations of a language, which have differences in vocabulary and/or grammatical features as well as pronunciation (Crystal, 1987). For political or historical reasons some languages, though distinct, are not recognised as such; and vice versa. Romaine (1989) notes that Breton, distinct from French according to linguistic criteria, is regarded as a dialect within France; while mutually intelligible forms such as Swedish and Norwegian are counted as separate languages. The status of languages and dialects in India and Pakistan is particularly complicated (see Appendix 1). Non-standard 'dialects' usually have lower status than standard forms.

In some countries (e.g. Belgium, Switzerland) two or more languages are accorded equal official status. However, individuals and communities within such countries are often monolingual in practice, even if they have studied a second language at school.

3.1.1 Elite bilingualism

Some bilingual people speak the language of an 'elite' or politically dominant group as their first language. They may be a small minority, e.g. speakers of European languages in former colonies, or belong to a privileged section of society, e.g. those with high-status international work. Sometimes speakers of a dominant language choose to have their children educated bilingually or in a second high-status language. Elite bilingual education has a long history (see Appendix 2). It continues today at international schools, set up for children of diplomats, but used also by the host community, a well documented example being the European schools (Baetens Beardsmore & Kohls, 1988).

3.1.2 Minority bilingualism

Most speakers of minority languages belong to politically and economically weaker groups such as migrant workers and their children, or indigenous minorities e.g. Sami in Finland, Australian 'aborigines', Romany speakers throughout Europe, Native Americans. Children may need to learn a second language to gain access to education and employment. There may be pressures to reject their home language, values and culture in order to be more acceptable to the dominant group, or to achieve upward mobility. Romaine (1989, p.218) cites the seventeenth century policy towards Highland Scots, and recent policies towards minorities in Papua New Guinea, Kurds in Turkey, and Finns in part of Sweden. In all these situations, official policy has been to eliminate minority language and cultural identity.

Generally, speakers of minority languages *need* to learn majority languages to gain full access to the resources of society (legal, educational, health, employment), while only a few majority language speakers *choose* to learn the languages of their minorities.

Some indigenous minorities gradually acquire status for their languages, leading to greater social acceptance, e.g. Welsh in Wales over the last 150 years, and French in Canada. Their bilingualism may acquire some of the characteristics of elite bilingualism.

3.1.3 Family bilingualism

Some families consciously choose to bring up their child bilingually within the home (see Section 3.6). The child usually learns her two languages more or less simultaneously. While this is unusual in many countries, Grimes (1985) describes South American groups whose customs require marriages between members of tribes speaking different languages: all children are bilingual.

3.1.4 Informal bilingualism

In many parts of the world, bilingualism is a necessary social skill for most members of the community. Language skills are acquired in an informal way, rather than through schools (Illich, 1981, p.27; see also Appendix 1). Khubchandani (1979) describes the pattern of North Indian 'dialects', which may be mutually incomprehensible from one village to another; the men are able to speak less localised forms as they move further from home, while women generally remain at home using only the local dialect. Hamers & Blanc (1989) also cite Gumperz & Wilson's (1971) description of Kupwar, a border town of South India, divided into four distinct language groups, with most men of the town speaking all these languages. My own observations in Peshawar were similar. Men spoke at least the three main languages, using a more 'standard' form of their MT. Women spoke the dialect of their village, which differed from that of villages a few miles away.

In many countries the formalisation of grammar, with production of prescriptive textbooks and separation of 'standard' forms from commonly spoken dialects, resulted in a change in perceptions of language. Illich (1981) argues that before the production of grammars and dictionaries, spoken languages - as opposed to the classical languages - did not have formally defined 'grammar'; someone could travel through Italy, Spain and Portugal, modifying their style of speech and writing to conform to local practice without formal study.

The recognition of a single standard form of a language has led to its use being connected to social position and privilege. Crystal (1987, pp.2-4) writes of the 'prescriptive' tradition of grammar, and the academies founded to 'purify' various languages - beginning with the Italian Academy founded in 1582. Attempts to found an English academy, to 'fix' the language and prevent change were unsuccessful. Fears for language 'purity', and about the effects of one language on another, are still current, as in the efforts of the French Academy to limit use of English loan words. Language changes, resulting from contact with other linguistic communities are perceived negatively.

Something similar happened in recent years in some former colonial countries when a particular form of language was chosen as the official language; it became codified, and grammars and dictionaries were produced. The chosen variety was taught in school, and speakers of other languages and dialects suddenly became 'minority language speakers'. Appel & Muysken (1987, p.52) refer to Whiteley's description of how this occurred in Tanzania, and Scheiffelin (1987b) records how four dialects of Bosavi coexisted on an equal basis until one was selected for literacy, giving speakers of this 'standard' form social advantages.

3.2 Attitudes to Bilingualism

Historically, education for children of minority groups was usually provided only in the majority language. These children were thought to be harmed intellectually and emotionally by their bilingualism. Flawed research 'confirmed' this when children were tested in their weaker language. Test items included 'cultural' knowledge, and urban middle class children were compared with rural children from non-literate homes, or recent migrants. (See Appendix 2).

Popular attitudes to bilingualism still reflect some of these historical views (Hakuta, 1991; Baker, 1988; Appel & Muysken, 1987, p.101). Children in many countries are still punished by teachers for speaking their MT in school. British parents may still be advised by professionals against bringing up their children bilingually (Romaine, 1989, pp.213, 218). Many British schools may resemble that described by Warner (1992), with a staffroom ranging from the "Ban Bengali" faction, who discouraged any use of, or reference to, minority languages and culture, to the English teacher who based her lessons on the study of Bengali poetry.

Ideas about language are influenced by political views. Romaine points out that in Western Europe and most Anglophone countries, at some stage in their history, minority groups have been seen as "threats to cohesion of the state and [national leaders] have therefore tried to eradicate both the speakers and their language" (Romaine, 1989, p.6). Concerns that the ethnic loyalty of members of minority groups may be more powerful than their sense of national identity have been voiced in Britain periodically, e.g.

relating support of cricket teams to national loyalty; and also in the USA throughout its history. The 1980s saw a movement in the USA opposed to the enhancement of ethnic identity of children of immigrant communities, and the introduction of 'English Only' policies in some states (see Appendix 3).

Monolingual speakers of majority languages may have little sympathy for the strong feelings minority language speakers often hold regarding the preservation of their languages. Skutnabb-Kangas (1991, p.26) uses the example of attitudes to language in Sweden. Swedish speakers, never having had their 'right' to use their language challenged, fail to perceive any value in maintaining minority languages; while Finnish speakers generally regard the maintenance of their language as very important.

Minority Language teaching may be seen as a 'luxury', both financially (Paulston, 1990), and in terms of pupils' time (Khan, 1991). Appel & Muysken (1987) also point to negative attitudes often held by minority language speakers themselves, who may want second language education for their children because they see it as necessary for social mobility. Rodriguez (1982, 1992), an American writer of Hispanic origin, argues against bilingual education, demanding that minority children become part of the American mainstream even at the expense of their emotional well-being and family relationships.

Overall, such attitudes are not conducive to the development of bilingual education for children with learning difficulties. Teachers may fear that using two languages is 'too hard' for such children, and any time spent on MT development could be better spent on other 'basic' skills. In a recent case study, therapists claim that "the use of Korean in the home was an impeding factor in Kevin's progress []. His parents were encouraged to use English in the home." (Weintraub et al, 1991, p.271) In countries with an assimilationist policy towards minority groups, the MT is considered expendable, a luxury which children with learning difficulties cannot afford.

Miller & Abudarham (1984, p.198) report, of services for bilingual children with communication difficulties, that the biggest hurdle is "the ignorance that often leads to prejudice through active blocking and passive indifference. This often denies recognition of the wishes and requirements of the ethnic minorities."

3.3 Current Perspectives On Community Bilingualism

Where two or more languages are in contact, change is likely in both or all of them. Whichever language they are using, many speakers include features derived from the other language. Language mixing is often stigmatised by speakers of a 'purer' form of one language. Romaine reports this amongst Punjabi speakers in Britain. However, Hamers & Blanc (1989, p.153) refer to Kachru's (1978) description of the situation in many parts of India where Hindi or regional languages are regarded as 'higher' when intermixed with English, Persian or Sanskrit depending on context.

All aspects of language are affected by contact: phonology, intonation, and stress patterns may be carried from one language to the other. Lexical borrowing occurs, syntax may be affected, and so may non-verbal features of language.[2]

All these atypical uses may become standard in the bilingual community. However, parents or other adults may dislike children's use of less 'standard' forms. Teachers may be concerned that children's use of English does not conform to standard patterns. However, suppression of the MT is unlikely to help children acquire a more standard form of English. Opportunities for more formal study of the MT would enable children to compare features of their two languages, and thus enable them to consciously choose whether to use the standard form or bilingual-community form of both languages.

3.4 Bilingual Families

A few detailed studies have been made of the language acquisition of children brought up bilingually, usually where one parent has been a professional linguist - with consequences for the type of language experience offered to the child.

Romaine (1989, pp.166-168) lists six patterns of acquisition, some of which derive from Harding & Riley (1986). The following are relevant here:

1. Parents speak different first languages, one being the language of the wider community. Each speaks her/his own language to the child (e.g. Leopold, 1939, 1949). This is usually a conscious decision by the family. Kravin (1992) suggests that use of a language only by one parent at home may be insufficient to maintain its development. While living in the US, a child used Finnish only with his

mother. When he visited Finland and Sweden he was unable to use Finnish with peers, or with other, perhaps more demanding, adults.

2. Non-dominant home language. Parents have different MTs, one of which is the dominant language of the community. Both parents use the non-dominant language with the child (e.g. Fantini, 1985). This is also often a deliberate 'policy' decision.
3. Non-dominant home language without community support. Parents share the same MT, which is not that of the community (e.g. most migrant families).
4. Mixed languages. Parents are bilingual and the community is bi- or multi-lingual. (This is the situation in many parts of the world including parts of Pakistan and India).

3.4.1 Separating languages

A feature of simultaneous bilingualism which has concerned many linguists has been the question of when a child becomes aware of using two different languages. Following the first reported detailed study of a bilingual child (Ronjat, 1913) the recommended approach was 'one person / one language', so that the child could more easily 'separate' her two languages. This approach is still recommended by writers such as Appel & Muysken (1987, p.98). Others such as Fantini (1985) prefer 'one environment / one language'.

Leopold (1939, 1949) brought up his daughter, Hildegard, on one person / one language principles. Up to the age of two she made utterances that were often a mixture of languages (ibid., Vol.3, p.186), with words chosen, Leopold believed, sometimes on the basis of ease of pronunciation. At 1;11 she was still using German words to English speakers, both parents and outsiders (3, p.175). Fantini's son Mario grew up being addressed by both parents and nursemaids in Spanish, but heard English with outsiders including parental grandparents, and attended an English nursery from the age of two. Mario was aware of the differences in language from an early age. At 1;8-1;10 he would imitate Spanish but not English. At 1;10 he responded to guests addressing him in Spanish, but ignored those addressing him in English. He first spoke Spanish at 1;4, but used no English until 2;6. For two months he used some words inconsistently - possibly when he did not know the equivalent word in the other language - but by 2;8 the languages were fully separate, and he began to comment on other people's language use (Fantini, 1985, p.44).

The age at which children separate their two languages continues to be a central issue in bilingual research, and lack of separation is sometimes regarded as a problem (Pacheco, 1983). Genesee (1989, pp.161-162) found that although infants do mix elements from both their languages, they are able to "differentiate two languages from the earliest stages of bilingual development and [] can use their two languages in functionally different ways". Genesee suggests (1988, 1989) that, while some mixing may be a result of a process of 'overextension', much use of mixed forms results from the child being presented with mixed models of language. Romaine also suggests (1989, p.184) that where parents practise switching or mixing languages in a single conversation the child takes longer to become aware of speaking two distinct languages. Lanza (1992) found that Siri, at two years, used more lexical mixing when speaking Norwegian with her father than when speaking English with her mother. This seemed to be because the mother discouraged mixing, while the father used mixed forms himself. Lanza regarded the mixing as an appropriate response to context, rather than a failure to differentiate language. Siri, however, sometimes used Norwegian grammatical forms when speaking English but not vice versa. This was interpreted as a consequence of Norwegian being her dominant language at this time. Levy (1983) observed no language mixing when Yair used Hebrew, and only two words ('lo' for 'no' and 'ze' for 'this') when Yair used English in day-care.

Genesee (1988, 1989) reviews evidence that children are aware of different phonetic systems and intonation patterns within a few weeks (or even days) of birth. He cites a study in which Mehler et al (1986) found that 4-day old infants from French-speaking families showed a preference for French speakers over Russian speakers. An earlier study (Mehler et al, 1978) showed that 4- to 6-week old infants recognised their mother's voice if she used her normal intonation, but not if she spoke in a monotone.

3.4.2 Difficulties in becoming bilingual

Karniol (1992) suggests that Orren began to stutter severely as a result of 'cognitive overload' when aged twenty five months. He was bilingual in English and Hebrew and was already constructing sentences in both languages, translating spontaneously and switching language in response to other speakers. Orren stopped stuttering when he dropped one language. Hebrew differs from

English far more than the differences between two European languages or between English and other Indo-European languages, including those of Pakistan and North India. However, the stuttering might have been a 'normal' period of non-fluency unrelated to Orren's bilingualism. His problems are not replicated by other children in the literature of bilingual language acquisition. Wright & Sherrard (1994) found the percentage of Asian children receiving therapy for stuttering to be lower than the percentage of Asians in the general population.

3.4.3 Simultaneous bilingual language acquisition at home and school

There are important differences between the experiences of simultaneous language acquisition of children growing up in bilingual homes and those of children who, not yet being able to talk, are introduced to a second language in school. Children with a learning difficulty may not be able to talk, but they already have considerable experience of one language, on which it should be possible to build. However slowly, they have started to pick up some of the non-verbal aspects of their MT. They have begun to recognise patterns of sound, perhaps words or maybe recognition of the significance of patterns of intonation and pitch. They have learned some patterns of appropriate response - when to vocalise, move or smile and when to be silent or still. A child starting school enters a community of a different nature from her home, with a different underlying value system. She experiences patterns of interactions which do not match the patterns she is learning to recognise and use, and her attempts to communicate may go unrecognised. She has to make sense of this, often without support from a bilingual person who can understand and interpret her attempts to communicate. If she does speak, her utterances may not even be recognised as speech. Skutnabb-Kangas (1984, p.23-28) describes the considerable problems experienced by some children attending nurseries where a language different to that of their home is used; and the changes in their behaviour once the language of their home is introduced in the nursery.

In most bilingual families described in the literature, both parents understood both languages and could respond to their child's communications, whichever language she used. Appel & Muysken (1987, p.98) recommend this as a necessary condition for deciding to bring up a child bilingually. The members of a multilingual/multicultural household are likely to have influenced one another, resulting in an integrated family culture, perhaps with features reflecting the different cultural origin of members. All children become accustomed to individual differences and gender roles, and integrate these in their patterns of socialisation. Fantini (1985, p.26) refers to differences in child rearing norms and verbal socialisation patterns within his family, which had to be negotiated. In his view, the mother's preferences generally were followed.

3.5 Current Views of the Effects on the Individual of Bilingualism

A survey of research into the effects of bilingualism demonstrates the hazards resulting from comparison of very diverse groups. Personal experience of language learning and/or bilingualism is also likely to affect researchers' views. Bialystok (1991, p.6) suggests that many researchers in the 1970s and 1980s were keenly seeking positive effects for bilingualism, but now that bilingualism is viewed more positively, researchers are free to accept whatever results their research produce. Baker (1988) complains of methodological weaknesses and the lack of replication of research. He also suggests that those studies which failed to demonstrate clear advantages of bilingual education may not have been published. Issues relating to interpreting research on bilingual education are considered further in Section 4.6.1.

3.5.1 Language and cognitive skills

It is now widely recognised by linguists that bilingualism "may have major consequences for children's intellectual development" (Bialystok, 1991, p.5). Earlier studies (see Appendix 2) were designed in such a way that disadvantages were attributed to bilingualism. Methodological developments, such as matching for socioeconomic class, giving tests in the child's MT, starting with Peal & Lambert (1962), found positive effects of bilingualism. A number of developments in linguistic theory also led to more positive expectations of the effects of bilingualism.

Bowerman (1989) describes how, by the 1960s, linguists became more aware of the similarity between languages, whereas previously they had emphasised differences. Early semantic development was regarded as following the same pattern regardless of language. The skills underlying all languages were seen as more important than the differences between languages. Cummins (1984, p.143) illustrates this by adapting Shuy's (1978, 1981) iceberg metaphor, distinguishing

"the "visible", quantifiable, formal

> aspects of language (e.g. pronunciation, basic vocabulary, grammar) and the less visible and less easily measured aspects dealing with semantic and functional meaning."

The visible aspects differ between languages, while the invisible are shared. Experience with either language develops this underlying proficiency, benefitting both languages. In terms of this model, children in SLD schools need effective approaches to building on their invisible foundation skills, i.e. a child's knowledge of her MT.

While earlier proponents of bilingualism thought it advisable to maintain a separation between the bilingual child's languages, it is now more generally held that a child learns a second language more easily if skills used in the MT can be utilised in learning the second language. (Winchester, 1985; Dodson, 1985). The benefits of doing so outweigh any disadvantages resulting from the child sometimes using a word or grammatical structure inappropriately.

3.5.2 Educational achievements of bilingual children

There is ample evidence of both high and low achievement amongst bilingual children. Hamers & Blanc (1989, pp.48-52), Romaine (1989, pp.104-6) and Diaz & Klingler (1991, p.170) review studies demonstrating that bilingualism enhances cognitive development (see Section 3.5.4). Children of Chinese or Japanese ethnic origin in USA have higher average academic achievement than the white majority (Flynn, 1992). The Inner London Education Authority CSE and O-level results for 1987 showed pupils of Indian origin achieving the highest scores, with other ethnic minority pupils also achieving higher levels than 'white' British (ILEA Research and Statistics, 1990).

However, many children speaking a minority language are observed to have low educational performance. Both Cummins and Skutnabb-Kangas in earlier work follow Hansegård (1975) in using the term *semilingualism* to refer to a situation where a bilingual person is fully competent in neither of her languages. MT development is incomplete, having been disrupted by the introduction of the second language. Other features include reduced vocabulary and incorrect grammar (Hansegård, 1975, cited in Skutnabb-Kangas 1984) and a tendency to morphological simplification (Appel & Muysken, 1987, p.107). Some writers do not find semilingualism a useful concept. Romaine (1989, pp.232-36) has linked the term to earlier views of limited language capacity and Macnamara's 'Balance Hypothesis' (see Appendix 2). Baker (1993, p.10) points out that, in some contexts, semilingualism has acquired a politically loaded, negative connotation.

The terms 'additive bilingualism' and 'subtractive bilingualism' (from Lambert, 1974, 1977, 1981) are now preferred. In some 'additive' situations bilingualism is seen to produce positive effects. In other situations, as the second language develops, skills in the MT are lost. The different outcomes are ascribed to the value given to MT by family, school and community, and the opportunities to continue developing the MT. Bilingualism is 'subtractive' when the community, family or individual devalues its own language and culture. The more prestigious language is expected to replace the MT (Lambert, 1977; Hamers & Blanc, 1989, p.56). The child is not able to relate her experiences before, or outside, school to her experiences there. Children may themselves reject their language and culture, and in doing so the individual devalues her learning and experience in it. Hamers & Blanc (1989, p.209), Cummins (1991b) and studies reviewed by Cummins (1984, pp.110-112) suggest that a child's performance relates directly to opportunities for MT development. Lemmon & Goggin (1989) found that bilingual students maintaining a high level of Spanish MT skills performed better, in English medium education, than those who retained only a low level of Spanish skills. Pacheco (1983) reported changes in over-all 'intelligence' scores in a ten year old child when she began to receive instruction in Spanish, although it was thought she had become 'English dominant'.

Factors other than language affect educational achievement. Parekh (1988) points to the diversity of sub-communities from the Indian sub-continent now living in England as a possible explanation for the differences in achievement reported from different studies. Some families originate in traditionally non-literate rural communities, with low economic status. Experiences of some such families are considered in Chapter 5. Other families may have high status origins, with a tradition of supporting their children's education and expectation of high achievement. Some encourage their child's MT development, others do not, while yet others have English as their MT. Pupils of East African Asian origin are recognised as a particularly high achieving group (Tomlinson, 1992; Smith & Tomlinson, 1989, pp.245,253, cited by Figueroa, 1992, p.412), yet may be categorised officially as 'Indian' and possibly 'Pakistani'. Figueroa suggests that this was a factor affecting data such as the ILEA results cited above.

Cummins (1984) hypothesised the existence of *threshold* levels of competence necessary in both languages so that children may reap positive benefits from bilingualism. Children who have not achieved a second, lower threshold, suffer negative effects from being educated through their weaker language. Romaine (1989, p.239) points to the difficulty of testing for such thresholds. However, some studies suggest that children introduced to their second language at a later date make more rapid progress than those immersed at an early age (Cummins, 1984, p.110). Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa (1976) found that Finnish children, migrating to Sweden when aged 10-12, did better than those born in Sweden or migrating at an earlier age. Romaine (1989, p.251) refers to the success of immigrant Mexican students who have had some years of schooling in Mexico, when compared with those born in the USA. In the Carpintaria Spanish-only programme (Cummins, 1984, p.148) children attending (who were all Spanish dominant) scored considerably higher on school readiness tests than those attending bilingual programmes, with scores close to those of English-speaking children. Their scores were higher in both Spanish and English tests than Hispanic children who had attended either bilingual or English programmes.

These results would support the threshold hypothesis, as children's MT skills were better established by the time the second language was introduced. Skills learnt in the MT were transferred to the second language rather than being learnt for the first time through the medium of the second. John-Steiner (1985), arguing for later introduction of second language teaching, suggests that, once the first language is sufficiently well developed, cognitive strategies can be used to facilitate second language development. A further reason for higher achievement of children initially educated in their MT is that older children's self-esteem might be better established than that of children who had the experience of low achievement during their early school years. The quality of their early educational experiences may also be a factor. Verhallen et al (1989) and Appel (1989a) demonstrated how migrant children in the Netherlands did not have opportunities to develop their language skills to use cognitively more complex forms, and materials were not adapted to their linguistic and cultural needs.

Other studies, however, find advantages in early experience of the second language. Lapkin, Hart & Swain (1991) found early immersion more effective than middle immersion (see Section 4.6.1) for French immersion of English-speakers in Canada. Romaine (1989, p.215) refers to 'some evidence' for phonological benefits from early acquisition. Johnson & Newport (1989) found Chinese and Korean speakers who had migrated to the USA in childhood more proficient in English grammar than those who arrived later.

Diaz & Klingler, (1992), discuss Diaz (1985), who found that at the early stages of second language acquisition, in a bilingual kindergarten and first grade, all children, regardless of initial language level, made considerable advances in cognitive skills (as measured on a non-verbal intelligence test, Raven's Matrices). Cummins (1991a) argues that this finding does not counter his thresholds theory. Diaz studied pupils in a bilingual education programme, where both languages were developing. Cummins regards this continuing development of both languages as the essential factor for positive effects. Diaz's subjects were learning a second language, while continuing to use their MT for academic learning, while Cummins was considering the effects of learning by the medium of a second language.

Geva & Ryan (1993) suggest that the acquisition of second language skills may depend on factors such as intelligence and memory, rather than MT skills. They studied pupils attending a bilingual English/Hebrew school in Canada. This was a fully 'additive' situation. There was no danger of children's learning being delayed until they had sufficient proficiency in the second language, or of children rejecting their out-of-school cultural learning. However, where children can have access to teaching only by learning a second language, difficulties with any of these factors could be cumulative. Academic second language skills may be acquired more slowly by children with weaker memory or 'intelligence', so access to a broad curriculum is reduced. Skinner (1985) suggested that a requirement to use the second language exclusively restricts a child's ability to think: she can formulate only those thoughts which she knows how to express in the second language. This limit on thought and acquisition of knowledge would not occur in a child working through her MT.

3.5.3 Language proficiency

Cummins (1984, p.136 referring to Cummins, 1979) first distinguished between Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). This distinction supposedly explains how children may relatively rapidly acquire enough second language for normal social interaction, while language proficiency for academic work takes much longer. Cummins (1991b) refers to research indicating a requirement of four years for "socioeconomically advantaged" students to achieve 'grade norms' in academic use of English; others take five or more years. Later, (1984, pp.138-139), he regarded the BICS/CALP distinction as oversimplified, and proposed to represent language proficiency along two continua: cognitively demanding / undemanding; and context embedded / context reduced (where meaning can be negotiated by those conversing as against situations where meaning cannot be negotiated or deduced). He regards communicative skills as context embedded and generally cognitively undemanding, while academic skills are both cognitively demanding and context reduced.

Hamers & Blanc (1989, p.75-76), argue that a child should use her MT for cognitively demanding activities and to formulate new ideas; later, she can learn to express these ideas in her second language. If she does not have the experience of using language for cognitive purposes and has not acquired a particular cognitive skill it is very hard to learn simultaneously a new function of language, a new concept and a new form of language to express it.

Many children at SLD schools have not yet learnt the basic social uses of language in their MT. Is it similarly hard for them to learn these functions of language at the same time as learning a new language? Would they more rapidly and effectively learn them if they used their MT first? Piper (1987) pointed out that the language needed for cognitive skills builds on the foundation of language developed for personal communication. The latter skills, if learnt in one language easily transfer to another; but if they have not been learnt the necessary base is missing. Piper suggested that these skills are more easily learnt at home, but if they need to be taught at school they will be acquired more effectively if taught in the MT.

When a child has acquired a cognitive skill in one language, there may be a delay before acquiring the same competence in the second language. Karniol (1990) found that Karen could express causality in English before her immersion in Hebrew at 1;10. Ten months later she did so in Hebrew, at 2;8. Structures may be easier to acquire in one language than the other. For example, Slobin (1985, p.16) suggests that postpositions are more readily acquired than prepositions; the Indo-European languages of Pakistan and India use postpositions, while Western European languages use prepositions.

3.5.4 Cognitive benefits of bilingualism

Hamers & Blanc (1989, pp.48-52), Romaine (1989, pp.104-6) and Diaz & Klingler (1991, p.170) describe tests on which bilingual children have shown superior results to monolinguals. These have included various standardised tests of verbal or non-verbal intelligence, tests of verbal originality, divergent thinking, creative thinking, Piagetian concept-formation tasks, perceptual tasks, language tasks requiring separation of form and meaning of a word. Cognitive advantages of bilingualism appear to be linked to enhanced development of 'metalinguistic' awareness and skills (Diaz & Klingler, 1991; Sharwood Smith, 1991). 'Metalinguistic' awareness refers to the child's awareness of her language skills and to certain tasks and skills related to understanding what language is (rather than merely using it), i.e. using language to describe language. For example, a bilingual child may , at an early age (as seen in Section 3.4.1) become aware of speaking two distinct languages, and discuss which language she is using.

The separation of a word's meaning from its sound, the relative importance of meaning and sound, and the arbitrariness of names and other forms have been shown to be achieved earlier by bilingual children in studies reviewed by Appel & Muysken (1987, p.109-111), and Diaz & Klingler (1991, pp.172-175). Leopold (1949) reported that Hildegard related stories without using stereotyped words, at an age where most children recite stories using the forms they have heard and memorised.

Studies suggest that bilingual children are more aware of grammatical errors than monolingual children (Bialystok, 1991, p.134), and more aware of words as separate items within sentences, so that they more easily count words in a spoken sentence. Malakoff & Hakuta (1991, p.144) suggest that translation skills may develop as soon as a child uses any words in two languages. Levy (1983) reported that Yair, at the age of two, managed simple tasks such as translating "go to sleep", "more", "take a walk", in his other language. Rueda (1983) found metalinguistic skills in bilingual children who were mildly retarded to be superior to those of matched monolingual children, but more general cognitive advantages were not observed because of the design of the study, in which bilingual children were compared with monolinguals matched for IQ score. Baker (1993, p.128) maintains that this research needs "thorough replication".

3.5.5 Varieties in mother tongue

Trueba (1989) argues that the MT component in education should be in the dialect used in the child's home, rather than a more standard variety. Similarly Winchester (1985, p.72) writes of the importance of "encouraging respect for each other's mother tongue *as actually spoken by the children themselves*". (Emphasis added).

A possible factor in high achievement of some UK children of Indian origin, compared with those of Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin, might be that when Punjabi-MT children of Indian origin attend community-organised language lessons, outside school hours, they study the same dialect as that used at home. Pakistani Punjabi-MT children receive community education in Urdu and Arabic; Sylhetti speakers in standard Bengali. No figures are available correlating children's achievement with attendance at such language classes. Many other factors also have a bearing on the issue, such as parents' educational and socio-economic strengths, child rearing practices, level of cultural compatibility between home and school, and minority community attitudes to schools.

3.5.6 Emotional stress

Trueba (1989, p.20) writes of the stress resulting from

> "difficulty in relating previous knowledge and experiences acquired through the mother language to the new knowledge and experiences of the school".

The child may have little opportunity to understand what is required by classroom activities, or their purpose, leading to high levels of stress which make acquisition of the second language more difficult. Trueba suggests three mechanisms by which some children cope with this sort of stress:

1. Withdrawal from active participation in lessons
2. Anxious attempts to comply with demands, often by mimicking other children's behaviour, without understanding whether or not that behaviour is appropriate.
3. Manifestations of anger.

Trueba suggests that a result of stress may be that the child becomes increasingly 'disabled' with time, understanding and articulating less and participating less in lessons. Cognitive, linguistic and academic skills deteriorate over time. This may reflect a phenomenon described by Sinason (1992) where the 'handicapped' child's experience of being devalued leads to a 'secondary handicap' more severe than the first.

3.6 Summary of Issues Relevant to Bilingual Children with Learning Difficulties

1. Attitudes. The literature finds that teachers and parents may hold beliefs about children's bilingualism which are not supported by recent language research. Teachers may believe that minority languages should be replaced by the majority language; or may regard bilingualism as for the 'elite' rather than children with learning difficulties. Parents may hold similar views, devaluing their MT, or they may recall their experience of informal bilingualism in their home country, where it was usual to speak more than one language. Attitudes of professionals and parents may affect the experiences of the children studied in the fieldwork.
2. Teachers should not assume that English is necessarily more important for a child than learning to communicate with her family.
3. There is no evidence that bilingualism has harmful effects on cognitive development or language acquisition. There is evidence of positive effects, as long as the development of both languages is encouraged. Development of MT skills facilitate second language development.
4. New skills are best learnt through the MT. The child's cognitive development may be delayed by discouraging use of MT for general educational purposes. While it appears that children benefit from learning a second language, there is evidence of beneficial effects from delaying teaching other subjects, especially cognitive skills, through a second language until the MT is well established. While most normally developing children acquire basic conversational skills at home, most children at SLD schools have not done so and would benefit from MT support to facilitate this.
5. If a teacher is aware of MT expressions which a child uses, she will be able to respond appropriately.
6. School staff speaking minority languages should, where possible, adapt their usage

> to fit the dialect spoken by a child's family, and not 'correct' a child's usage to conform to a higher-status dialect.

Issues arising that may be further illuminated during fieldwork or from other areas of literature:

1. Do bilingual children in SLD schools demonstrate metalinguistic skills, and is there any way in which they can compare their languages?
2. Do bilingual children in SLD schools have problems in separating their languages? Is it important for them to be able to do so?
3. How do teacher and parent attitudes to bilingualism affect the children's experiences?
4. What are the effects of the children's experiences on their cognitive development?
5. Are there any indications that the children suffer emotional effects from their experience of immersion in a monolingual school?
6. Would support for the children's MT in school produce the positive results which would be predicted by the literature?

Notes

1. The terms 'Punjabi' and 'Panjabi' are interchangeable. Writers with Indian connections often prefer 'Panjabi'. I have become more familiar with 'Punjabi', and use this except when making direct quotations.

2. Phonological mixing can result in some sounds being pronounced differently, they may not be differentiated or be overdifferentiated or consonant clusters not pronounced according to the usual rules (Romaine, 1989, p.52). Examples from Urdu/Punjabi include the retroflex palatal 'T', which is often used in place of the English 't'. Urdu and Punjabi distinguish between this 'T' and the softer, dental 't', but not between the English sounds 'v' and 'w' (their own sound being slightly different from both). Urdu speakers often find difficulty in starting words with the consonant cluster 'sk' and may add an initial 'i' or place a vowel between the consonants. In the bilingual community these features may switch between languages.

Differences in stress and intonation can lead to misunderstanding. Biggs & Edwards (1991) note Indians' habit of raising the voice when ending an utterance, while the native British lower theirs. This leads to misunderstandings, as innocent utterances may be interpreted as rude. Questions may be interpreted as statements and vice versa. Trueba (1989) describes how Native Americans interpret white peoples' voice level as indicating anger and hostility, and white Americans interpret Native American voice levels as indicating shyness or unfriendliness.

Lexical borrowing may lead to the assimilation of words, which then are used according to the morphological rules of the borrowing language. Romaine (1989, p.59) gives the example of the Punjabi use of 'chippan' (chips).

Formulas such as polite forms (Appel & Muysken, 1987, p.147), and rules affecting use of 'please' and 'thank you' (rarely used in normal social conversation in several Pakistani languages), may be transferred between languages. Syntax may be affected, e.g. word order and use of articles in one language may take the pattern usual to another. Idiomatic expressions may be translated literally and classification systems interchanged - Welsh grass is 'blue', whereas the sky in Pushto is 'green'. Appel & Muysken (1987, p.148) refer to some of the non-verbal features of language such as body distance and gesture, which the bilingual person may also use in ways unfamiliar in the language being spoken.

Chapter 4. ISSUES IN BILINGUAL & SPECIAL EDUCATION

This chapter examines further issues in bilingual education, and issues relating to special education, again searching for implications for children at SLD schools.

4.1 Political & Legal Issues Affecting Bilingual Education

An international view of political and legal issues appears in Appendix 3, showing how policies on provision for bilingual children have been, and still are, made on political, ideological grounds without acknowledging the results of language acquisition research.

Since 1953, UNESCO has called for primary education to be provided in children's MTs (UNESCO, 1953); yet in many parts of the world this is available for comparatively few children. Members of some minority communities wish to integrate with the majority culture, so see no value in transmitting their language and culture to their children. Others wish to maintain their ethnic and linguistic identity, and, in some countries, may arrange community education classes to this end. It is, however, the majority community that has the political and financial power to determine the nature of the formal education system.

4.2 Policies Towards Minority Children in Britain

4.2.1 Language policies

The Bullock Report A Language for Life (Department of Education and Science, 1975) encouraged schools to support children's home culture and language:

> "no child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two totally separate and different cultures which have to be kept firmly apart." (p.286, para. 20.5).

Bullock called for a curriculum reflecting the child's life outside school, for books reflecting children's experiences, their countries of origin, religion and culture. While emphasising English teaching, Bullock recognised the value of bilingualism and suggested that schools "wherever possible should help maintain and deepen [children's] knowledge of their mother-tongues." (pp.293-4, para.20.17)

By contrast, the Swann Report Education for All (Department of Education and Science, 1985) recommended that schools should focus on teaching English, while MT teaching should be conducted out of school by minority communities themselves. Hamers & Blanc (1989, p.192) believe these conclusions resulted from the Swann Committee having "completely misinterpreted research data on mother-tongue teaching and bilingual education". Parekh (1988, p.65) suggests that the Committee's emphasis on English was "with the full cooperation of its Asian members", who wished to present Asian children as high achievers, needing no special help. As noted earlier (Section 3.5.2), there is great diversity of Asian 'sub-communities' in Britain. Some groups do achieve higher results than the average for all white British children. Spokespersons may themselves be more likely to belong to higher achieving groups, and thus to be appointed to public committees.

The Local Government Act, 1966, Section 11, enabled local authorities to seek reimbursement from central government of a proportion (initially 50%, later 75%) of expenditure incurred in providing services to Commonwealth immigrants. Expendable on any such provisions, in practice 80% was used for education (Department of Education and Science, 1985), focusing mainly on extra English language teachers, with some support for MT development. Richardson (1993) and Keel (1993) describe how, in the 1980s, Section 11 programmes covered multiculturalism throughout the curriculum, contact with parents and community groups, and antiracist initiatives. Stricter guidelines, introduced in 1992, re-emphasised English teaching. Community language teaching is no longer eligible for Section 11 support, while reductions in funding and changes in the administrative structures will probably further reduce this support in the later 1990s (Keel, 1993).

An EEC Directive on the Education of Migrant Workers (77/486/EEC) in 1977 required Member States to provide MT teaching to children of migrant workers. Initially this applied only to children of EEC nationalities, but it was extended to children of all 'migrant workers'. Poulter (1986, p.178) pointed out that this extension carried no legal force. Moreover, most minority families of Commonwealth origin have taken British nationality, so do not qualify for privileges granted to 'migrant workers'. Saifullah Khan (1980) notes the opposition of teachers' unions to implementing the EEC directive, as financial cuts in education were causing unemployment for trained monolingual teachers, so posts for bilingual teachers would divert money from expanding more general services. Poulter (1986, p.176) suggests that no official action resulted because of policy makers' reluctance to reinforce social divisions through separate teaching arrangements. If MT education were available for EEC nationals, but not for other ethnic groups, "this could amount to breach of the Race Relations Act 1976 and hence be unlawful." (Poulter, 1986, pp.178-179)

Recent Education Acts (1989, 1993) established a legal framework of governmental control over the education provided to all children. Teaching must accord with National Curriculum requirements, and children's progress is measured by Standard Attainment Tasks (SATs). The English non-statutory guidelines (Department of Education and Science, 1990) stated that

> "Children come to school already with a background language, sometimes more than one language. The programmes of study emphasise the need to build on this and to provide children with opportunities to extend and develop their use of English" (p. A1, para. 1.6)

Furthermore,

> "Schemes of work should be prepared bearing in mind the needs of bilingual children. Home language support can facilitate bilingual pupils' access to the curriculum and thereby enhance their learning of English." (p. C2, para. 2.9)

Circular Number 11, Linguistic Diversity and the National Curriculum (National Curriculum Council 1991) developed these themes.

However, the 1994 English curriculum draft order made no reference to the needs of bilingual children. The original draft order contained a statement, which was removed by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority's ruling council. Its sole non-white member, Mrs Shahwar Sadeque, "played an important role in persuading the council to scrap the clause"
on the grounds that "any special statement for bilingual pupils would lower teachers' expectations of their abilities" (Blackburne, 1994, p.3).

The published orders included the clause:

> "where appropriate, pupils should be encouraged to make use of their understanding and skills in other languages when learning English." (Department for Education, 1995 p.2).

This contrasts with the statements referring to Welsh bilingualism, stating that pupils taught through the medium of Welsh in Key stage 1

> "will have developed skills and knowledge about language similar to those taught through English, and will generally display a growing confidence in their use of language." (ibid., p.32)

and that during Key stage 2 the teacher will "encourage pupils to transfer their skills in, and knowledge and understanding of one language to the other" and will "draw pupils attention in a structured and systematic way to the similarities and differences between the languages" (ibid., p.32). These would surely be desirable outcomes for all bilingual children. While Welsh speaking children are given the opportunities of developing 'additive' bilingualism within the education system, this is clearly not the intention for minority children in England.

The difference between the status of Welsh bilingualism and that of other minorities is the result of long campaigns by Welsh speakers. Welsh has gained status, to the point of being a core subject in the National Curriculum in Wales. Bilingualism is seen as a social and educational advantage, to be cultivated. While political action and individual identity in Wales has focused on language issues, MT or bilingual education has not played a significant part in the concerns of migrant ethnic minority community leaders in England, who have focused on other issues, mentioned below.

4.2.2 Other Policy Issues

Department of Education & Science Circular 7/65 (1965) permitted children to be 'dispersed' so that an individual school would not exceed 33% immigrant children (Lynch, 1986, p.45). Homan (1992, p.67) reports that this policy was "abandoned after objections by parents and community leaders." More recently, parents of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin in Bradford have campaigned to send their children to upper schools outside the inner city area, to 'white', middle class schools (Holdsworth, 1993).

Issues such as dress (girls covering their legs, Sikh boys wearing turbans), school meals observing religious dietary regulations, the segregation of sexes, particularly for sport or swimming, and the provision of an option for single sex education, have been expressed as priorities by ethnic minority leaders. Currently some publicity is given to the issue of Islamic schools. Homan (1992, pp.65-67) and Wahhab (1989) describe parental concern regarding their children's exposure to the 'corrupting influence of the permissive society' in schools. Some believe that Muslim values are undermined in state schools, where adolescent girls are not segregated from boys, respect for religion and parents is hardly encouraged, and the social climate does not support traditional family values. Sarwar (1993) expresses the frustration of Muslims that no Muslim school has obtained Voluntary Status, i.e. government financial support on the same basis as church schools. Homan (1992) suggests that while 'separation' has a negative value in Western liberal thought, in Islam, as in Judaism, it has desirable connotations of 'holiness'. 'Multicultural' approaches to education are not appreciated from some Muslim perspectives (Vine, 1992, p.180; B. Shaw, 1992, p.140) and multifaith education is disliked as encouraging children to question their religion and value system, rather than providing a 'nurturing' approach (Wahhab, 1989; Parker-Jenkins, 1991).

The above issues, rather than MT education, have achieved publicity. Nevertheless surveys of parents (Section 4.5.1) have found that most parents wanted their children to receive Urdu or MT tuition at school.

4.3 Language, Culture & Identity

Children of minority groups may become aware at an early age that they are 'different' from some of their peers in language, dress and many other features of their lives. Many teachers speak and behave differently from adult members of their families. A sense of 'ethnic identity' enables the child to know the reason for these differences and that she and her family are not 'inferior' because of them. (A person belonging to a majority community may not become aware of having an 'ethnic' identity until she experiences living with a group of people different in culture, and value system.)

Aboud (1987) suggests that children are aware of their ethnic identity by the age of four. However, there are differences in the experience of ethnic minority children, some of whom are actually in the majority in their schools, while others may be isolated.

The choice of language made by a bilingual person may demonstrate the extent of her identification with her community of origin (Saville-Troike, 1989; Giles & St Jacques, 1979; Verma, 1988). Use of the majority language, in the company of other speakers of the minority language, may be regarded as disloyalty to family and friends. Dalley (1992) writes of the sense of dual identity she experienced, as a bilingual Canadian, and the pressures and tensions to choose between possible allegiances. She describes emotional factors affecting her choice of language. Skutnabb-Kangas (1984, pp.42-55) described how the MT is often linked to the emotions and that second and other languages do not hold such emotional content.

Saville-Troike (1989) writes that children are not motivated to acquire a second language from teachers when they do not identify with the values those teachers represent. She reports that Hispanic boys in the USA do not acquire the style of speech taught by their teachers, which they perceive as 'effeminate', but prefer the 'Black English' dialect of their peers. Piper (1987) suggests that a child might adopt the negative view of teachers and peers towards his home culture, thereby rejecting his family and its values. Piper further describes the effects of a family choosing not to transmit their language to their child (Section 4.5.2).

Feuerstein (1980) described children whose families or communities gave no value to their own cultural heritage, and so failed to transmit these. His term for this situation, 'cultural deprivation' is often rejected as it is thought to imply a valuation of one culture as inferior to another. This was not Feuerstein's intention. He worked with children who lacked any culture, as cultural transmission from one generation to the next was disrupted. He argued that the child's learning is mediated through the forms devised by that particular culture, the games, stories and songs of childhood and also the underlying value systems expressed by these and in many interactions between parent and child. Disruption may occur when children are refugees, separated from their family, or when parents experience stresses preventing them from performing their parenting role as they wish. It may occur when, in their society of origin, culture transmission was customarily effected by grandparents, older children or a wider community, who are not present in the new society, while parents do not realise the need to take up this role themselves. Other parents may see little point in transmitting cultural experiences and values to children who are growing up in a very different society, not realising that the children thus miss opportunities to learn essential cognitive, social and language skills.

4.4 Culture in the Classroom

Trueba (1989, p.36) believes teachers and peers may send minority students "indirect messages about their own incompetence and the lack of value of their home culture and language."

The Spindlers' study of 'Roger Harker' showed this man, seen by himself and his superiors as a caring and competent teacher, preferentially identifying with children sharing his cultural background. He was a white middle-class 'Anglo' American. His pupils included Mexican Americans, Anglo Europeans and Japanese Americans. 'Harker' was unaware of the extent to which his own cultural orientation affected his relationships with children, the opportunities he gave them, and the effects on their self-esteem.

> "He was never mean or cruel to the other children. It was almost as though they weren't there." (Spindler & Spindler, 1982, p.26).

Similarly, Biggs & Edwards (1991) found less teacher-initiated interaction with Asian pupils than white pupils in a UK primary school. Ogilvy et al (1992) found staff using a less interactive, more controlling, style with Asian children than those of Scottish ethnicity in a nursery school.

Teachers' lack of response to pupils may arise from cultural differences between their patterns of interaction, making it difficult for the teacher to control (and thus approve) interactions. Corson (1992) refers to children who are not socialised to compete for an adult's attention - so will not raise their hands or approach the teacher - or who may regard silence and inaction in the presence of an adult as necessary to showing respect. In some cultures it is normal to look at the speaker to indicate attention; in other cultures this is regarded as impolite, and the listener demonstrates that he is paying attention by looking away. Black children in the USA often use loud voices for informal interactions, and are thus regarded as disruptive by teachers who have different expectations. Michaels (1981) observed a teacher in a mixed race classroom who often failed to see the point of black children's discourse and made inappropriate comments and mistimed questions. Michaels suggested that teachers do not instruct children in the patterns and style of discourse they wish them to produce, but regard them as less able if they do not intuitively discover what is required.

Gregory (1993) also demonstrated how teachers, when teaching reading, expect children to understand what is required of them, without explicit instructions. Pupils who share the same cultural assumptions as their teachers can conform to what is required, but others cannot. She found that teachers not only fail to make clear what is required, but they may model behaviour which is opposite to that which they wish the children learn. Trueba (1991b, p.49) writes of the "overwhelming effort required from the minority child to adapt to a new set of values and a new symbolic system of communication."

Weber & Tardif (1991a) describe the concern of English speaking children in French immersion (Section 4.6.1) to predict what the teacher required of them. Children from minority communities meet situations where they are unable to predict what teachers expect. When teachers are ignorant of pupil's value systems and language, situations which Trueba (1989) calls 'degradation' experiences, i.e. a child's feelings of humiliation from being unable to understand the teacher's demands and through being required to behave in a way contrary to the cultural norms she has already learnt. Trueba suggests that a child, faced with a new language and strange cultural demands, can lose self esteem, leading to a "process of becoming disabled at school" (1989, p.23).

The child may sense disapproval of the culture of her family, and perceive the school as a hostile environment. She will then withdraw from participation in activities, and especially from any discussion relating to her home experience (Cline & Baldwin, 1994).

Corson (1992) gives interesting examples of modifications made to classroom practices, accommodating cultural values. Some American schools have adapted to the Hispanic distaste for public praise, others to Native American children's ways of indicating when they were listening and their preference for working in a large group without a teacher's direct supervision. New Zealand schools have adapted to Polynesian disapproval of individual competition for personal achievement. Corson refers to two strategies, 'privatisation' and 'personalisation' proposed by Cazden (1988) for teaching children from minorities. Privatisation is a strategy to avoid 'face threatening' situations, avoiding public displays of what children do not know, making necessary corrections in private. Personalisation refers to being courteous towards children, using affectionate forms of address, phrases showing "clear respect for the rights and dignity of children". Corson (1991) also notes Cazden's suggestion that, when a child has been speaking, the teacher observe a "wait time" of at least three seconds, to be sure that the child has finished.

Knight (1994) suggests an alternative

approach, where children are taught to be bicultural, cultural differences being discussed openly and in depth. Her aim is to reinforce the culture of the home, while children learn to understand and function confidently within 'public culture'.

However, Skutnabb-Kangas (1991) believes that cultural adaptation by schools will not meet the needs of bilingual children. She finds little cultural difference between Finnish and Swedish homes in Sweden, yet Finnish speaking children are clearly disadvantaged in Swedish-medium education.

4.5 Parental Choice of Language

4.5.1 Language of school

Minority groups differ in the language they prefer for their children's education. Romaine (1989, p.232) found that in Berlin, Turkish parents wanted their children to be educated in German from the beginning of primary school, while Greek parents preferred the first years of primary education to be in the MT alone.

Although minority community leaders in England have not prioritised MT education, several studies have shown parents preferring it. Saifullah Khan (1980) found some parents opposed to MT classes during regular school time, but other researchers have found many in favour. Asian parents in the sample studied in Sandwell and Birmingham by Clark, Barr & Dewhurst (1984) mostly would like MT tuition in school rather than evening supplementary classes, a finding also by Stopes-Roe & Cochrane (1990). Mirpuri speakers in Saltley, Birmingham were concerned that their children should learn Urdu at school (Joly, 1984). Moffatt (1991) found that all the mothers in her survey would prefer Urdu-medium education. Parents generally prefer children to be taught the 'high' form of community language (Russell, 1986); thus Pakistani Punjabi or Mirpuri speaking parents wish their children to learn Urdu rather than the actual MT.

4.5.2 Language within the home

Some parents believe, and may be advised by professionals, that it is best to use only the language of the majority community with their children. Thus parents may address children only in their limited version of the second language. Piper (1987) describes the problems of a small boy, Michael, whose parents believed that he should only learn English - though they spoke very little English themselves. Instead of talking to him, they gave him opportunities to listen to English on television and records of English children's songs. They spoke Italian together, but tried to address him in English - greatly limiting their opportunities to interact. As a result, Michael had acquired very little language and basic communicative skills when he started school.

From discussion with a teacher from Skye, Grant (1988, p.158) shows the difference in teaching children fluent in MT compared with those who have had limited language experience because their parents tried to protect them from the struggles of bilingualism:

> "In our area practically all the parents are fluent mother tongue Gaelic speakers. They all speak English too, of course, but often not quite so well. About half of them speak to their children only in Gaelic, right from the start, and the children will come to school at five with practically no English and good Gaelic. No problem: we build on the Gaelic, teach them English as well, and in a couple of years they are completely fluent in both. But the other half speak to their children only in English, and they come to school with no Gaelic and poor English. They are a problem, for they have no strong base on which to build any language."

A number of surveys among Asian families in England report that siblings often choose to talk together in English (Clark, Barr & Dewhurst 1984; Dosanjh, 1976; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990).

Where children are perceived as having language or learning difficulties they may be excluded from interactions in the MT, even if other family members rarely use the second language together. Ameer's family, living in Pakistan, always used Pushto except when speaking to him (Miles, 1993). They felt that because of Ameer's delay in acquiring language, it was more appropriate to use Urdu (the official language) with him. He increasingly used abnormal patterns of stress and pitch when speaking, he started to use inappropriate phrases and developed some emotional problems. When his teacher succeeded in enabling Ameer to speak Pushto (which Ameer understood well) he soon overcame his emotional/behavioural difficulties, and within a few weeks made rapid progress in both languages.

4.6 Models of Education For Children Speaking Minority Languages

Children speaking minority languages may be educated in MT, or in their second language, or bilingually, according to different models. In some countries only primary education is available in MTs, secondary and further education being in the official language (Hamers & Blanc, 1989). However, migrant groups and politically weak indigenous groups seldom have this option, and the debate is usually between bilingual and majority language monolingual education.

4.6.1 Interpreting the results of research

Research results regarding different types of educational provision may appear contradictory, until it is realised that children's experience of bilingualism and/or biculturalism are often very different, and cannot be easily compared.

One example is the frequent reference to 'immersion education'. In England and often the USA, 'immersion education' refers to a situation where the teacher and other children are speakers of the majority language, and all activities take place in the majority language. Proponents of bilingual education generally prefer the term 'submersion' education to describe this experience (Cummins, 1984; Appel & Muysken, 1987; Baker, 1993). However, there is a substantial research literature based on bilingual French 'immersion' in Canada. In this system, the teacher shares the language and culture of the pupils. While the teacher uses the second language exclusively, children are free to use either language, and after an initial period, often of two years, both languages are used for instruction. 'Monolingual immersion' may refer to a system of special classes where all pupils are new to the language of instruction and the teacher uses a structured approach to introducing the second language. Immersion may be used with minority language speakers learning a majority language, or with majority language speakers learning a minority language, as in America where English speaking children are 'immersed' in French, Ukrainian, Hebrew, Spanish or German (Lambert, 1981, p.17). The Canadian French immersion programmes may be 'early', taking place in the first two years at school, 'middle', in the middle school age, or 'late', for senior pupils.

Policy makers glancing at research reports, or more probably at digests or newspaper reports, easily miss the significance of these differences. Corson (1991), for example, refers to Bruck's work with 'special education pupils' in Canadian (bilingual) immersion programmes in a context where a reader unfamiliar with this field could understand him as referring to monolingual immersion, or 'submersion'. Serpell (1993, p.96) writes that the reported success of bilingual immersion programmes in Canada was a factor in the abandonment of indigenous language primary education in Zambia, so that English became the sole language of school education.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) related the difficulties in interpreting research to conflicting research paradigms, opponents of bilingual education looking only at hard quantitative evidence for improved second language skills, generalising results from 'additive' to 'subtractive' situations and from foreign language learning to second language learning, while proponents of bilingualism followed more qualitative approaches, giving regard to context and looking at a broader range of consequences. Secada (1990) suggests that the greatest benefits of bilingual education are motivational, resulting in increased High School completion, college attendance and reduced criminal involvement by members of minority communities. He states that similar effects are recognised as justifying the Head Start programme for pre-school children, although research has found Head Start to produce little lasting improvement in academic skills.

4.6.2 Monolingual education - in second language

The two principal models described in the literature of second language medium education are those where all children in a class are new to the second language and are taught through a structured programme (monolingual immersion), and those where second language speakers are 'integrated' with other children for whom the language of instruction is their first language (submersion, sometimes called immersion). Structured 'monolingual immersion programmes', are centred around the teacher who 'directs' the child's language experiences, as the children cannot receive language modelling from peers. In an integrated, 'submersion' situation, learning is dependent on the child's motivation to communicate with other children. The other children provide opportunities for interaction and appropriate models of language in supposedly motivating contexts.

Wong Fillmore (1989) found that individual and ethnic differences determined which method was more effective. Results depend on the temperament of the child, aspects of cognitive functioning (inductive reasoning, verbal memory and pattern recognition), and the social setting (whether there are sufficient English-speaking peers, whether interaction between children is encouraged by the teacher and whether first and second language children choose to socialise). Chinese children were more likely to interact with peers, but less affected by the quality of the teaching than Spanish-speakers. Wong Fillmore (1989, 1991) found 'outgoing' children learning English rapidly in an integrated situation in a class with sufficient English-speaking children who were willing to interact with them, and with a teacher who encouraged such interactions. However, Verhallen et al (1989, p.126) found that, in the Netherlands, minority children's interactions using a second language were cognitively undemanding.

Tough (1985, p.15) suggests that children learn English quickly when "all, or almost all, the [other] children in the class speak English as a first language."

However, as seen above (Section 3.5.6) children may experience great stress when submerged in majority language and culture (Trueba, 1989, 1991a). There is a difference between the interpersonal communication skills which most children acquire easily and those skills needed for acquiring cognitive and academic skills which require several years to equal the proficiency of the first language (Cummins, 1984).

Tough writes of children's 'need to communicate', motivating them to acquire the second language in situations where their MT cannot be used. Children with delayed language development, whether part of a general developmental delay, or a specific language difficulty, may not have sufficient 'need to communicate' to learn effectively in such situations. Moreover, children in 'submersion' situations in SLD schools are likely to find themselves in a class where few, if any children have any verbal skills, so will not have opportunities to learn verbal interaction patterns or other aspects of language from peers. The school culture may not demand or encourage communication. Whereas normally developing children will already have learnt conversation and some basic cognitive skills in their MT before starting school, this is not so for children starting at an SLD school.

The experience of many bilingual children in England fits neither of these models. Early attempts at limiting the number of minority language speakers in individual schools were discontinued following parental and community protests (as seen in Section 4.2.2). Later, centres providing structured monolingual immersion were also closed as they were considered socially divisive, or racially discriminatory (Leung & Franson, 1989; Reid, 1988). As a result many children attend schools reflecting the ethnic composition of their neighbourhood, where the majority of children are speakers of a minority language - such as that described by Warner (1992) where 94% of children were bilingual, 86% being Sylheti speakers. These schools provide neither a structured immersion programme nor an integrated model where children are motivated to acquire English to communicate with peers who are native English-speakers. Some of the approaches which have been used in such schools are described below, Section 4.6.4. It is unclear why some special schools have a similarly high proportion of children from minority homes; this could arise from referral systems or from parental choice, or a combination of these.

The 'silent period'. A feature of second language education is that some children pass through a 'silent period' when they do not speak at all in an unsupported monolingual situation . This may be a short term feature, lasting a few weeks (Fantini, 1985; Karniol, 1990; Gibbons, 1983), but sometimes becomes a longer term problem, referred to as 'elective mutism', or 'selective mutism'. Although this may occur among all children, bilingual children seem to be particularly at risk of developing such difficulties (Cline & Baldwin, 1994; Kolvin & Fundudis, 1981). Personal conversation with teachers of children in submersion classrooms indicates that a long period of silence is a phenomenon familiar to teachers in multiethnic schools.

Various possible explanations have been suggested. Cline & Baldwin (1994, p.24) point out that in some cultures children do not speak in the presence of adults, and suggest that this might sometimes be a contributing factor to 'silence'. Dodson (1985) suggests that the child becomes silent because she is not supported through a bilingual stage in which she is enabled to use her MT to support acquisition of the second language. He suggests that it is important for a child to have opportunities to practise using the new medium without the pressures of having to convey a message; and that activities such as repeating the same phrase in both preferred language and new language, and using the first language to ask questions about the new language are necessary stages in language acquisition. Mann & Mills (1993, p.100) describe children who, although not silent, were 'reluctant' to use English, and so were regarded as 'slow learners'. Verhallen et al (1989, p.126) suggest that the 'silent period' is an ongoing part of language acquisition whereby children do not attempt to express a 'higher cognitive language function' until they have fully acquired the related receptive skills.

4.6.3 Bilingual education

There are many varieties of bilingual education, three of which are noted below. Further details appear in Appendix 4.

Transitional bilingual education, during the early years at school, intends that the child will soon replace her MT with the majority language and move into the mainstream. Providing full access to the curriculum while the child's knowledge of the second language is developing, it is thought to reduce the trauma of school entry. Any work in developing MT skills is seen as a means of benefitting the second language. This is regarded as a subtractive situation, for the community and, ultimately for the individual (Diaz & Klingler, 1991, p,176; Hakuta, 1987). Transitional programmes rarely teach literacy skills in the MT. *Early exit* transitional programmes aim to transfer children to the mainstream as quickly as possible while *late exit* programmes allow for several years of bilingual support.

Maintenance bilingual programmes aim to prevent the subtractive effects of loss of language, by providing continuing teaching in the child's MT. This may be limited to use of oral skills, or it may include bilingual literacy skills. While some subjects may be taught through the MT, higher status subjects are likely to be taught though the second language.

Enrichment bilingual education fosters and values the child's bilingualism, providing education in and through both her languages, both oral and literacy skills. Models of this include *two-way* programmes where children from minority and majority communities study together, both languages being taught and used for instruction, on an equal basis to all children.

One practical difference between various models of bilingual education consists in the presence or absence of rules for switching language. Some schools insist on 'one lesson, one language'. Others allow both languages to be used within one lesson, with rules about when language may be switched. Still others allow freedom in switching language.

4.6.4 Some approaches used in England

A few experimental bilingual projects have run in England. The 'MOTET' project in Bradford provided bilingual nursery education to 'Mirpuri' speaking children, whose English and Punjabi skills benefitted (Hamers & Blanc, 1989, p.208, citing Fitzpatrick, 1987). More generally, in those mainstream British primary schools with a high proportion of bilingual pupils, 'good practice' has consisted of providing formal instruction entirely in English while recognising the need to find ways of supporting MTs (Reid, 1988). Winchester (1985), Barrs et al (1990), Finklestein (1990) and Mills (1992) listed strategies to enable monolingual teachers to provide such support. These included making opportunities for bilingual children to talk together using their MTs; and to do both spoken and written work in MTs; providing MT tapes and video programmes, books with parallel texts, and pictures relevant to the life of ethnic minority communities. Bilingual assistants, parents, siblings, and community volunteers may help at school, while parents are encouraged to support MT development at home. The Primary Language Record (Barrs et al, 1988, 1990) provides a method of recording children's development in both languages, Hall (1995) a more detailed approach to bilingual assessment.

Work cited in the previous paragraph was done in the 1980s. Books edited by Mills & Mills (1994) and Blackledge (1994) provide evidence of continuing innovation, as does Klein (1996). However, there is no indication of how widespread this type of practice is, and the reduction of local authority influence in school practices may have had some negative effect. It is an area in which special schools are clearly deficient, and wide publicity needs to be given to good current models, both from special and mainstream schools.

4.7 Bilingual Programmes for Children with Language/Learning Difficulties

Bruck (1982, p.57) reports that language impaired English-speaking children attending French immersion programmes in Montreal "demonstrated comparable cognitive, first language and academic skills to similar children educated only in their first language." However, only children scoring 85 or over on a Wechsler Intelligence test were included. Moreover, these children were largely middle-class, and had a high- status MT, and thus had continuing opportunities to develop their MT, unlike those in 'subtractive' situations.

Ara & Thompson (1989, p.150) describe therapy conducted bilingually - mother playing a naming game in Punjabi while siblings play the same game in English, their preferred language of communication. Duncan & Gibbs (1989) also describe a service offering bilingual remediation to Punjabi speakers, pointing to the absurdity of ignoring the development which has occurred in the MT and the need for the social and emotional reinforcement which the home can provide in the MT. Perozzi (1985) demonstrated that language impaired children who receive therapy in their MT more readily acquire skills in their second language.

Miller & Abudarham (1984, p.183) prefer 'intuitively' to concentrate on one language at a time, as "Dissipating the potential of a child with limited proficiency by exposing him to conflicting codes would in general not seem to be the most efficient teaching strategy." They appear to assume (ibid., p.181) that a child with learning difficulties has a limited capacity for the number of words she can acquire, and that acquiring the words for the same referent in both her languages rapidly uses up this 'quota'. This belief does not fit with current models of bilingual language acquisition. Perozzi (1985) and Ara & Thompson (1989) indicate rather that a child with limited language skills will readily acquire the equivalent word in the second language once it is acquired in the MT. Duncan & Gibbs (1989, p.195) also report data suggesting that "concurrent bilingual remediation does not have a negative effect on the language of bilingually handicapped children."

Muller, Munro & Code (1981) suggested that some children may be unable to acquire two languages, but saw no way of predicting which children would fail to do so. Trites (1984) described his earlier work to predict difficulties related to temporal lobe immaturity, but as described in Appendix 6, this was dismissed by Cummins (1984), and received no further attention.

Davies (1984) described the situation in parts of Wales where the general policy was for bilingual education, but children with special educational needs could have MT education, whether Welsh or English. The formalising of bilingual education within the National Curriculum may have changed this situation.

In USA children may be taught jointly by a special education teacher and a bilingual teacher (Ortiz, 1984), but specialist 'bilingual special educators' are being trained in some areas (Baca & Cervantes, 1989; Graf, 1991; Holtzman, 1986). Baca & Cervantes (1989, p.18) reject complaints that it is already hard enough teaching skills to children with disabilities:

> "isn't it asking too much of special educators to include additional material on culture and on a second language? In reality the opposite is true. In other words, the imparting of basic skills may be facilitated considerably if one understands that the child's culture and language are the foundations upon which an appropriate education may be built."

The bilingual education debate in many ways parallels the century-long oral/manual debate on deaf children. Sachs (1989) writes of the continuing struggle of the deaf community to enable children to be educated through sign language. Children are still denied access to communication skills and opportunities for language and cognitive development while efforts are made to encourage them to learn the forms of speech of the majority community.

Proponents of 'oral' education, cited by Sachs (1989) argue that manual signing denies deaf people access to the wider society, and children are more likely to acquire spoken language if they are discouraged from using an alternative. Some hearing parents, hoping their children will join mainstream schools, may prefer their children not to learn manual signs (Bennett, 1988). Proponents of manual sign language, including Deaf community organisations, point out that the child's greatest need is for access to language, for communication and for progress in cognitive and linguistic development. Sachs (1989) reports that deaf children educated through manual signing may obtain academic results equal to those of monolingual hearing children, but results are considerably lower where children are educated orally, especially in mainstream schools. Access to signed language is thus seen as providing a basis for other language learning; while oralists still argue that, if a child has access to communication through signs, she will be less motivated to acquire an adequate level of speech.

4.8 Assessment

All children in English and Welsh schools have their progress measured in Standard Assessment Tasks (SATs) at the ages of 7, 11 and 14. National Curriculum Council Circular 11 (1991) permits the use of bilingual assistance for SATs (other than English as a subject), if such help is normally available for lessons. Formal translation of SATs can provide considerable difficulties (Kaur & Mills, 1993). For certain terms, children may be used to English loan words rather than those of their MT. These will include not only technical words rarely met in daily life at home, such as 'triangle' or 'rectangle' but also often counting words (ibid., 1993); also some general vocabulary, as Madhani (1989) found that a large proportion of the words first learnt at home were loan words from English. There could also be difficulties in identifying the correct dialect for the child; also, for many children, ascertaining language dominance may be difficult. Cummins (1984, p.60) suggests that, after two years of education through a second language, testing the MT is likely to be "invalid because of possible regression of L1 abilities due to lack of exposure to conceptually demanding input."

Nevertheless, Mann & Mills (1993) found that children demonstrated more advanced reasoning abilities in their MTs, through better response to questions. When questions referred to concepts the children had been formally taught only in English, children still performed better in their MT, being able to demonstrate their reasoning processes.

Gregory & Kelly (1992) point out that SATs assess those language skills which are important to the monolingual child, and are based on norms of monolingual language development. SATs do not credit the metalinguistic skills (see Section 3.5.4) acquired by children learning a second language, nor do they allow for differences in cultural understanding.

4.8.1 Assessment for identification of special educational needs

The Warnock Report (Department of Education and Science, 1978) has only one paragraph on the assessment of immigrant and minority children. This paragraph (4.51) begins with the following strong recommendation: "Wherever a child's first language is not English, at least one of the professionals involved in assessing his needs must be able to understand and speak his languages."

Lowden (1984) suggests that assessment should be done by a teacher who is bilingual - and a member of the same minority community as the child. Both recommendations proved over-optimistic. Provision has not been made for such assessments to be available, other than in a few instances where appropriate personnel happened to be available, or in a few innovative projects, such as that reported by Roberts & Gibbs (1989) and Duncan & Gibbs (1989) where Punjabi language development was assessed. Desforges (1995) found that psychologists rarely referred to the cultural and linguistic experiences of children from ethnic minority homes when writing their advice for formal assessment. In more than two thirds of the cases studied, psychologists had neither used, nor offered parents the use of, interpreters. This proportion did not change following a training day on the needs of ethnic minority clients, which had emphasised the need to use interpreters.

Children may be identified as having difficulties by the health services and, following assessment by a psychologist and teacher, can be placed in SLD schools from the age of two years (or earlier, in special circumstances). Children whose patterns of development differ from norms of development identified for the majority community, are likely to be regarded as delayed. Hoel (1982) found professionals who regarded children from the Pakistani community as delayed in their development, because they thought they saw children being 'babied' by their parents. The parents made few demands and provided few experiences regarded by the majority community as developmentally stimulating, while providing plenty of physical affection. Rogoff, Gauvain & Ellis (1984) refer to cultural differences in patterns of acquisition of motor skills, and of sleep patterns of infants, which may also affect assessment. Cummins (1984, p.82) remarked that "in many situations the potentially detrimental consequence of early identification and intervention outweigh the benefits. He argued that language and cultural differences are likely to result in low performance in tests, and that the resulting inappropriate placement in special education programmes produced further problems.

Tomlinson (1989) and Harry & Kalianpur (1994) write of the obstacles preventing parents from participating in the assessment process, while Grugeon & Woods (1990) describe the sense of helplessness and confusion sometimes experienced by parents.

Cultural experiences also affect the performance of older children. Following Vygotsky, Luria (1933, cited by Sutton, 1988) and Gerber et al (1991) pointed out that psychological operations such as memory skills, the ability to make comparisons and generalisations and to think in abstract forms, which in Western psychology have never been regarded as culturally determined, are in the Soviet tradition "products of cultural development" rather than "consequences of biological maturity" (Gerber, Perelman & Lopez-Reyna, 1991, p.126). Hall (1995) makes useful recommendations to monolingual teachers assessing bilingual pupils, but does not tackle the effects of cultural differences on development.

Kayser (1990) points to problems in identifying language disability in minority children who follow different socio-cultural or socio-linguistic rules for communication. Stokes & Duncan (1989) identify the need to establish what are the usual practices within a family, such as whether children are expected to initiate conversation with adults. Ara & Thompson (1989) suggest that eye contact may be culturally inappropriate in some families. Testers who are unaware of the normal rules of communication amongst minority groups will be unable to assess language disability accurately. Factors such as use of hand gestures, and inhibition of speech to peers when an adult is present lead to misdiagnosis of children as language handicapped (Kayser, 1990). Following observation of three children categorised as 'language handicapped', Kayser found that two were using language appropriately according to the cultural norms of their home community.

Cline & Baldwin (1994) suggest that emphasis on the early development of speech, i.e. in infants, may be specific to modern western culture. Many cultures value silence and use speech less frequently. Caregivers expect to meet children's needs without them being expressed verbally, and children learn to be aware of the wishes of others from non-verbal expressions. In some cultures children are not expected to speak in the presence of adults, which is likely to inhibit test performance.

The extent and effects of cultural differences and the difficulties for minority parents in taking part in assessment procedures are considered in the next chapter.

4.9 Summary of Issues Relevant to Bilingual Children with Learning Difficulties

1. Children immersed in an unfamiliar linguistic and cultural environment can suffer levels of stress that further delay their development. Some children develop 'selective mutism', and do not speak when in school.
2. Parents should be encouraged to transmit their culture and language to their children, and to include a child with learning difficulties in normal family experiences. Teachers should modify their practices to take into account the culture of children's homes, and children's patterns of interaction.
3. Children who attend SLD schools generally do not have adequate peer models for their second language. Teacher expectations may also be low.
4. Assessment of children with learning difficulties needs to take into account both cultural and linguistic factors. Particular efforts need to be made to ensure parents are involved.
5. Experience exists of various methods and techniques for supporting MTs in different forms of mainstream bilingual education. These have yet to make much impact in special schools, where they are nevertheless badly needed.

Issues arising which may be further illuminated during fieldwork, or need further exploration:

1. What are parents' views about their children's schools? Would they prefer MT education? Would they prefer mainstream inclusion, perhaps in Islamic schools?
2. Do teachers in special schools recognise the children's 'ethnic identity', and regard this as something to nurture?
3. Do parents transmit their culture to their children, and do they include their 'special' children in this?
4. Do teachers in special schools expect children to have knowledge that is based in mainstream culture - and assume the lack of this knowledge is evidence of disability rather than cultural difference? Do teachers fail to understand children for the same reasons?
5. Are modifications made to classroom practices to take into account children's home cultures? Can any particular needs for this be identified, with regard to children of families of Pakistani origin in SLD schools?
6. Do some children in SLD schools experience a 'silent period', and is there evidence that it may sometimes lead to 'selective mutism'?
7. Is there any indication that bilingual children currently attending SLD schools would benefit from current innovations in inclusive education, which would place them in mainstream schools?

Chapter 5. CHILD-REARING, CULTURE & LANGUAGE

This chapter looks at concepts of child-rearing in different cultures and the effects on language acquisition of different patterns of caregiver-child interaction. The situation of children in India and Pakistan and the intercultural context of British Pakistani families are reviewed, with particular reference to those with a disabled child. While it is recognised that a wide range of individual differences in behaviour may be expected within any group, many fundamental beliefs about children are determined by culture. These beliefs are generally believed by members of the cultural group concerned to be universal, which may lead to misunderstandings between parents and professionals when they do not share a similar background.

5.1 Why Examine Culture?

In Chapter 2 it was noted that some current theories of child language learning give a central role to the interaction between children and caregivers, usually the mother, often emphasising the importance of routines and games. Heath (1989, p.342) and Snow (1989, p.93) suggest that while almost all children learn to talk, in societies where patterns of interaction vary greatly, cultural differences will result in different patterns of 'normal' language and cognitive development. Heath (1989, p.342) suggests that some societies give "greater importance to other skills than to individual linguistic competence." Serpell (1993), discussing cognitive development in Zambia, remarks that cultural differences result in development that is not 'deficient', but 'qualitatively different.'

References to child-rearing in the first six years have been examined, going beyond the stage of early language acquisition in normally developing infants, since the demands and expectations of society for older children have relevance when considering perceptions of the developmentally delayed child.

5.2 What Is A Child?

James & Prout (1990) understand 'childhood' as a social construction: a "fact of culture" (p.7). The only universal sociological construction of the early years is 'biological immaturity' rather than 'childhood'. Extensive debate on the social construction of childhood followed Aries's suggestion (1960, see translation reprint 1973) that the concept of childhood was absent in medieval Europe. He argued that once infancy ended, at about seven years, the child was absorbed into the adult world. Constructions of childhood seem to have been more complex and varied, in different eras, than Aries suggested; Giladi (1990), Lemay (1978), Rosenthal (1952) and Russell (1986) describe medieval Arab concepts of childhood, while Wiedemann (1989) and Manson (1983) give details of Graeco-Roman constructions. The debate Aries initiated has been valuable to the development of cross-cultural childhood studies.

Pelling (1988, p.138) suggests that a distinction made in English historical documents was based on a supposed age of 'reason', of about seven years, and of 'discretion', about fourteen. Similar distinctions are found e.g. in modern Chinese families, where the 'age of understanding' may be "as early as 3 or 4 years [], the majority of researchers place this age around 6 years[]." (Kelley & Tseng, 1992, p.446)

5.3 Care and Authority

While many British professionals still assume that mothers are the principal caregivers, there is some recent acknowledgement that some fathers take a caregiving role, and other arrangements may be normal in some minority groups. In Western Europe roles are changing, or becoming more flexibly defined. However, in other cultures people besides the mother may be the principal caregivers. In Pakistan I observed a variety of family patterns, many of which have been formally documented by others.

Grandparents were considered to be the preferred caregiver in Asia by Lloyd & Chuchom (1985, p.279), and in India by Siann (1980); Banerjee (1955) recommended that grandparents care for 'mentally handicapped' children. Jotiban (1985, p.308) reported siblings to be commonly the carers in Asia, as was also found by Ochs (1988) in Samoa and in studies reviewed by Heath (1989) in East Africa. A significant difference in Pakistan was between nuclear and extended families. In the traditional joint family, children are often cared for by grandmothers, unmarried aunts or older sisters (UNICEF, 1992, p.72; Eglar, 1960, p.62). As Narain comments (1964, p.142), in traditional extended families in India "mother is kept engaged in household work and cannot spend time with her child." Fathers' roles, particularly when living in extended families, seldom involve practical care of children under 6 years (UNICEF 1992, pp.46-47; Choudhury & Khan, 1968, p.101). However, in Northern Pakistan, as women's socially approved roles are limited to activities within the home, fathers take responsibility for contacts with doctors or schools (Evans, 1995).

Who has the right to make decisions concerning the child? My observation in Pakistan was that the child 'belongs' to the father's family. The Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women (1989, p.138), while advocating greater flexibility, confirms this "traditional assumption". It is also reported in Indian families by Narain (1964). Even parents living in nuclear families refer decisions to grandparents. Within families, there is often a hierarchical structure amongst siblings, younger brothers being expected to give respect and obedience to elder brothers (also noted by Narain, in India). The legal protection to the individual 'rights' of a child which is attempted in Britain is absent in many other cultures (Poulter, 1986, 1990). Identity as part of a family takes priority over individual identity. Kağıtçıbaşı (1990, pp.154-158) describes a dimension of 'relatedness / separation', in comparing Eastern and Western family systems. Hoch (1993, p.212), after 30 years of family psychiatry in India, contrasts the Western family model - individuals independently relating to the outside world - with an Indian model of family where members have minimal "ego-boundaries" within it and deal as a single unit with the outside world.

5.4 How Do Caregivers and Related Adults See Their Role?

Families may believe their role is to 'rear', 'socialise', and 'direct a child's development'; alternatively, it may be to 'protect-nurture' (Kakar, 1988, p.210), and 'allow the child to grow'. Heath (1989, pp.345-346) finds a major conceptual difference between the 'socialisers', who wish actively to train the child into accepted social patterns, and the 'nurturers' who care for the child and protect her from harm while awaiting her development.

While the dominant Western middle-class culture favours training and teaching to develop the child's potential, other cultures see development as largely determined by some or all of: heredity, astrology, fate, or family decisions. Those holding the latter view may regard interactions and active experiences with the child as enjoyable, but do not think that they affect the child's future.

The aims of child rearing also differ cross culturally. Kağıtçıbaşı (1990) contrasts the Eastern society, where children are socialised to an ongoing obedience/dependency relationship within the family, with the Western family anticipating personal separation and independence. She does not see the Western family model as resulting from industrialisation and modernisation; she finds evidence that the nuclear family, with its emphasis on the individual, preceded this. She proposes that a family life model drawing on both patterns, with a balance between dependence and autonomy, would be more satisfactory. Such a pattern would be facilitated by reinforcement of close bonds between mother and child.

Parents' ways of interacting with their children change with age. Kakar (1988) writes of the 'indulgent' Indian mother who does not regard socialization as part of her role. Indeed, the caring mother may take pride in continuing to maintain dependency, which she regards as giving a high level of care, for example taking pride in late weaning (Narain, 1964). Kakar reports a dramatic change in relations with children, especially boys, at the age of about five. The boy is abruptly separated from the world of indulgent women and enters the harsh world of men, with "a virtual reversal of everything that is expected of him". In this unexpected new environment, the growing boy is kept to "inflexible standards of absolute obedience." (Kakar, 1988, pp.126-127). Segal (1991) also writes of indulgence to the infant being replaced by an authoritarian approach to young children. Ghuman (1975) found that total obedience was required in the Punjab from the age of five. The father-son relationship is illustrated by a much-quoted proverb:

> 'Treat a son like a raja for the first
> five years, like a slave for the next
> ten and like a friend thereafter.'

The later 'friendship' hardly follows a western egalitarian model. Adult sons must obey their parents even when separated from them (Kakar, 1988, p.113). In the extended family structure, younger people defer in decision making to their elders and confrontations are not expected. Brothers are not equals, but follow a hierarchy of authority according to age; this is also followed by their wives.

5.5 Cross-Cultural Views of Learning and Play

As suggested in C. Miles (1991) and Miles & Miles (1993), many parents in Pakistan understand 'learning' in terms of 'obeying', rather than of skill acquisition. South Asian writers such as Ghuman and Kakar also stress the importance of 'obedience'. Thus 'learning' is not a concept applicable to the development of infants. Spoken language or communication skills are seen as being 'learnt' only by those who believe they are acquired by direct

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instruction and imitation (see Section 5.7), a very different model from the interactive approach favoured by modern linguists and many middle class Western parents, as described in Chapter 2.

In middle-class western society, 'play' offers the opportunity for problem solving and imagination, which is regarded as facilitating learning. By contrast, where 'learning' means 'obeying adults', the concept of play bears little relation to what a child needs in order to learn. In most cultures play appears to be an activity in which children participate without adult involvement. Some cultures believe that play is appropriate, or even beneficial for children; others regard all 'play' as time-wasting.

Hafeez (1991, p.311) reports from a study in rural Sind, that under two per cent of village respondents thought that their 5-year-old children should be playing. Singer (1982, pp.36-45) documented children's play in the North-West Frontier, but it was not something to which adults paid any attention, nor did the parents of children studied by Shah & Pervez (1994). Few parents in Pakistan 'play' with their children: "It is commonly believed that if you play with your children they will not respect you when they grow up" (Jaffer, Wellestrand & Jaffer, 1990, p.21). However, I learnt in Pakistan that the idea of an adult 'playing with a child' generally has connotations of teasing and making fun of the child, rather than a mutually enjoyable experience. Even 'enjoyable experiences' may sometimes be thought harmful to children's serious development, as was usual in American culture in the early 1900s (Lightfoot & Valsiner, 1992). Ajmal (1978) records the astonishment of his colleagues at Pakistan's National Institute of Psychology, on finding that children performed better on cognitive tasks based on play than on 'serious tests'.

While Pakistani parents value obedience, and see this as the means of learning, they seldom praise children in their presence, as this is thought to 'spoil' them (Haider, 1971). Such thoughts have, of course, been familiar to generations of native Britons.

5.6 Gender Differences

In many societies differences are reported between the early experiences of boys and of girls, reflecting different social roles for men and women. Girls may be trained to be independent in caring for themselves at an earlier age than boys, to help with household tasks and child care (Schieffelin, 1987a, p.256; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). Kakar (1988) described the five year old Indian boy being taken from his indulgent women into the harsh world of men. His sister stays at home, but seldom experiences the same degree of indulgence.

Some Pakistani religious and secular leaders reject western criticism of gender bias, emphasising Islam's condemnation of negative attitudes to the birth of a girl (e.g. The Quran, Ch. XVI, v.57). Yet Isa (1990) comments that "Problems for the girl begin at birth. From her childhood she is made to feel unwanted, an accident, a poor substitute for a boy". My own casual observations of girls within families were confirmed by the Pakistani psychologist Hassan (1985), who wrote that a girl is expected to be self-sacrificing, obedient and nurturing towards her male relations. Literate girls are routinely given instruction manuals on how to live a self-sacrificing life, such as 'Heavenly Ornaments' (Thanvi, 1981).

5.7 Language Socialization

It was earlier suggested (Section 2.2.2) that children acquiring language and communication skills in non-western cultural contexts may not follow the developmental patterns of acquisition of skills expected by western professionals. As seen in Chapter 2, the current western middle-class model of facilitating child language acquisition involves conversational interaction between adult and child, including a repertoire of games and routines. In other cultures, carers may take a directive approach to teaching language, requiring a child to imitate words and phrases, as described by Schieffelin (1985, 1987a) amongst the Kaluli. Alternatively they may expect the child to acquire language through passively observing others, as Oshima-Takane (1988) noted among Japanese children, and in studies cited by Heath (1989, p.342) from New Guinea and Mexico. Heath (1982, 1983, 1986) studied language socialisation practices in different ethnic and socio-economic groups in a town in Southern USA. Middle-class white parents followed an interactive approach; activities centred around books, with children from about six months of age. Working-class white parents had a directive approach, expecting to 'teach the children to talk'. Black families expected the children to 'learn' to talk by listening to others, but adults did not respond to children's verbal activities until the children had sufficient skills to join adult conversations. Shah & Pervez (1994, p.101) reported that in their study of five year old children in Pakistan, they observed "no meaningful interaction between children and adults", little communication taking place, other than criticisms and insults.

While 'interactive' parents treat children as conversation partners from an early age (Snow, 1989, p.86), in many cultures children are not regarded as appropriate conversational partners for adults (Heath, 1982, 1989). Heath suggests that, in nuclear families, for long periods the mother has no other conversational partner so she will herself feel a need to communicate with her child. Where other adults are available as conversation partners, mothers do not have this need. Whiting & Edwards (1988, p.88), similarly records that in households where several adults are present, children are generally discouraged from interaction with adults; they only 'speak when spoken to'.

Saville-Troike suggests (1989, p.243) that in societies where there is close physical contact with the caregiver, non-verbal communication provides a sufficient channel for the child's needs, so the acquisition of spoken language occurs later; however, she provides no evidence for this.

Some societies appear to regard teasing as an appropriate style of talk for adults to use with young children (Schieffelin, 1987a, p.256; Heath, 1989, p.342). This might result in negative emotional content (Bloom, 1993), but Heath (1989, p.342) suggests that children quickly learn to recognise the signals indicating that a remark is not serious.

Trevarthan (1988) links children's ability to acquire language in many different cultural settings, with "Universal Cooperative Motives". From their earliest experiences, children begin to learn principles of cooperation in the society where they are born. The child's need to co-operate enables her to learn through imitation, having her attention directed by others, by emotional evaluation of situations and by observation of others. She begins to initiate communication, to make gestures, and needs a response from others to develop these skills; but the initial attempt to communicate comes from the child. However, Tudge & Rogoff, (1989 p.23) point out that Piaget saw co-operation as a later development, arising together with the ability to perform rational operations, unlike the Vygotskian viewpoint which also emphasises social interaction from birth.

5.8 Language Socialization & Schools

By the time children start school, they have much experience of how language is used in their home community. Yet school curricula may be derived from developmental norms not relevant to their pupils. Heath (1982, 1983) reports her work amongst black pupils in 'Trackton', who were achieving poor results in schools. The Trackton community asked her to assist them in enabling their children to succeed, following the desegregation of schools. She found that Trackton pupils had difficulty answering teachers, because their questions were of a type the children did not meet at home. Questions of any sort occurred less often in Trackton homes than in teachers' homes with their own pre-school children. Often the culturally appropriate response to a question in Trackton was for the child to remain silent. On the other hand, Trackton pre-school children had learnt to make comparisons and use analogies that the teachers did not expect pupils to use until their later Junior years - by which time the children have established their position as low achievers. When teachers learned to use the type of interaction with which children were familiar at home, pupils became enthusiastic participants in lessons and their level of achievement rose.

Differences in the way Trackton children learnt the functions of language seem to have been even more significant than the differences in form of language between their dialect and the standard used in school. It is possible that for bilingual children too, differences in socialization patterns and function may be more significant than differences in form of language. Corson (1992) also describes positive results arising from modifications made to the style of language use in New Zealand schools, such as storytelling styles (as seen in Section 4.4).

5.9 Children of Pakistan

The Pakistani home is considered a private domain, which few outsiders may enter. Detailed studies of patterns of interaction between carers and infants have seldom been published, Shah & Pervez (1994) included some observations and some M.A. theses have entered this field (Pervez, 1989; see also annotated references in Miles & Miles, 1993).

Within Pakistan there are many cultural groups, with different ways of life. There is a broad range of individual differences, and most sections of society are experiencing rapid changes, which affect family life and child-rearing patterns. Practices range from the harsh, seemingly abusive environment for children in the Swat valley observed by Charles Lindholm (1982) and Cherry Lindholm (1982), to the picture of highly indulgent parents given by Rauf (1988). Despite the variations, certain features within Pakistan, can be regarded as culturally 'mainstream': the cultural ideals of middle-class Pakistani-Indian society; Islamic influences and ideals; and village traditional practices.

5.9.1 The middle class ideal

I have found this 'ideal' to be common to families in Northern India and Pakistan. More literature is available from India, but the patterns of life described are consistent with a number of urban professional Pakistani families whom I know personally. These ideals are shared by some members of other sectors of society. Educational psychologist Rauf (1988, p.100) described his ideal, which is not based on any specific study:

> "home in Pakistan overflows with warmth and vigour. Children are attended to. Parental care and affection are lavishly showered. Majority of the parents are home-centred and the homes child-centred. Constant parental devotion to the multifarious needs and demands of children lends predominantly humane colouring to the entire atmosphere of an average Pakistani home".

Kakar (1988) writes of the exclusive relationship of the mother and child in Indian homes, unlike other writers, who found children relating more to grandparents or siblings than to mother. The relationship is particularly intense between mother and son, as mothers traditionally have an attitude of gratitude and reverence towards a son (ibid., p.88). The mother aims to avoid frustration for, and conflict with, an infant. Children are widely believed to become hot-tempered if they have experienced frustration in infancy, so there is no pressure for toilet training, and an avoidance of conflict over food or sleeping habits. Indulgence of the infant's wishes is the ideal mother's priority, if economic or social pressures allow her any release from routine chores. The mother does not lead the child towards independence or socialisation skills, nor tries to mould or control, but allows him to follow his own path of development, at his own pace. It is quite common for a five or six year old to be breastfed, or nowadays more often bottlefed, on demand. Boys up to five years may share their mother's bed, unless a younger baby comes along (Kakar, ibid.; Lannoy, 1971).

However, this ideal model is not always achieved. Kakar describes how mothers may shape their children's behaviour by threats of abandonment, ghosts or monsters, or by locking them in dark rooms. Segal (1995) describes high levels of physical violence against children in some middle-class Indian homes. Shah & Pervez (1994) found middle-class homes in their study did not share indulgent views of childcare. In practice, many financially secure families hand over their children to servants for much of their day, while, as described below, less well-off mothers have other responsibilities which usually have to take priority.

5.9.2 The Islamic ideal

Muslim children grow up to assume their religious duties, which are public for males, largely private for females. Islam teaches a judgement following death, when the Muslim will be sent to heaven or hell according to actions and performance of religious duties. While the culture of the villages of Pakistan is entwined with rich folk varieties of Islam, some religious teachers and Islamicization movements regard many such cultural practices as un-Islamic. Islamic writings of earlier centuries provide idealised patterns of life to be emulated.

The diversity of Islamic thought in matters concerning children is illustrated by laws on custody after divorce. Young children are believed to need a mother's care, but in Islamic Law the guardianship of the child belongs to the father. This age at which fathers take custody can vary, for boys, from the age of two (the Ithna Athari code) to puberty (the Maliki code). For girls it varies from seven (the Hanbali code) to marriage (the Maliki code). The Shafi'i code allows the child himself to decide, on reaching the 'age of discretion' (Poulter, 1986, p.132).

While some Muslim writers focus on the general theme of providing a warm secure home for children, this being part of the justification for limiting the role of women outside the home, others focus on the details of living according to the Muslim law. Many Muslim young women receive on marriage Maulana Thanvi's book Bahishti Zewar, translated 'Heavenly Ornaments' (Thanvi, reprint 1981). Thanvi denounced many traditional customs as 'irreligious' or superstitious. He maintained that children must not play with dolls. Pictures are forbidden, as are fireworks and all forms of dance and music; also the suckling of babies beyond two years. Children should start saying their prayers at seven years. Prayers are obligatory by the time the child reaches ten. Yet in spite of pressures towards Islamicisation in Pakistan, many Pakistani children do play with dolls, pictures are on display in many homes that can afford them, and also in public. Music and dance performances continue. Families with more fundamentalist views disapprove of such activities.

Islamic cultures have historically had a concern for certain aspects of children's speech and language. Recital from memory of the Holy Qu'ran, correct in terms not only of accuracy in the Arabic but also of skilful intonation, is an important exercise studied down the centuries and still taught to quite young Muslims. Maintaining purity in the Arabic language was an important issue in early Islamic history, as pilgrims from many lands gathered at Mecca. It provides a rare example of townspeople turning to nomadic bedouin for language instruction (Shalaby, 1979, pp.42-47). O'Neill (1980, pp.108-114) describes the contribution of Avicenna (Ibn Sina, born 980 A.D.) to the understanding of the nature of language, which was further developed after his death. Shalaby (1979) and Rizavi (1986) describe the views of medieval Muslim teachers on the needs of children and methods of education. These include the need for a child to acquire basic skills prior to commencing formal instruction, Ibn Sina stressing positive motivation rather than punishment, Al-Ghazali encouraging parents to allow children to play.

5.9.3 Village observations

Many mothers in the villages and poorer urban areas of Pakistan experience pressures which prevent them spending much time with their children, even if they believe they should do so. In many villages, women still carry water from well or stream, collect fuel for cooking and have lengthy procedures for cleaning and preparing food. In dusty climates, cleaning a house and courtyard may be repeated several times daily. The slightly better off will have animals in house and courtyard to add to the work. Infants are supervised by grandparents, by sisters too young or weak to take on more active work, or by unmarried aunts. (UNICEF, 1992, p.72; Anwar & Naeem, 1980, p.114; Haider, 1971; Narain, 1964).

In the North-West Frontier Province and parts of Punjab, the observance of 'purdah', the seclusion of women, is the norm in village life (Singer, 1982, pp.72-87). In some other areas the full seclusion of women is a mark of the devoutly religious family or the middle and (traditional) upper classes. Purdah-observing women rarely leave the house. One obliged to do so wears a garment covering her so that no part of her body or face is visible, neither any skin nor the shape of her body. Amongst the strictest families a woman may never be seen by a man other than her husband or those of such close blood relation that they are forbidden to marry her. Girls usually enter purdah as puberty approaches - but Khan (1972) reported that some may be required to do so as young as six. Polygamy is also a feature of Pakistani life. A man may be married to up to four wives concurrently. In much of Pakistan, most men have only one wife, but the possibility of another arriving remains a threat if the first fails to please, e.g. in producing healthy sons (Singer, 1982, p.81).

The Lindholms (1982; 1982) described Pathan family life in Swat, a strictly purdah-observing area, as a power struggle. The child grows up to witness constant squabbling and fighting. Verbal abuse is often explicitly sexual. Cherry Lindholm (1982, p.54) noted that

> "though adults do not try to teach a child how to walk or talk, they will laughingly encourage a toddler to make funny faces and repeat sexual insults."

The baby is picked up when he cries, but although he may be given mother's breast, she gives little other attention as she continues her other activities while he feeds. Once a younger baby arrives, the older infant no longer has special care from his mother, but fights with the other children of the household for any objects, such as sticks and stones, the only toys generally available, or for pieces of dry bread to eat. Lindholm reports that a child's first words are expected to be "ma la" meaning "for me". Adults pay little attention to children's fights, nor do they intervene to protect the child from dangers such as fire, falling down stairs or off roofs, or using sharp tools. Children are considered too young to feel or understand before the age of seven, so they are never given explanations.

> "The parents' job is to train the child to respect his elders, obey them to the letter and know the proper way to behave. Failure to comply with an adult order, whether the failure is due to wilful naughtiness, forgetfulness, misunderstanding or accidental mismanagement is met with immediate anger and a variety of physical punishments" (ibid., p.55).

These views by a foreign anthropologist might seem excessively negative; but confirmation appears in work by Mazhar Khan (1972), Tareen et al (1984), Shahid (1987) and the Report of the Seminar "Child Abuse in Pakistan" (UNICEF, 1989). Shah & Pervez (1994) found that 72% of parents they interviewed required children to demonstrate total submission to parental authority. They report observations of parents cursing, shouting at, hitting, throwing, throwing things at, pinching, giving sweets or money to their children - but not conversing with them.

However, as pointed out by Lannoy (1971) such a mother may share the 'indulgent' ideal described above (Section 5.9.1), but pressures on her may result in her being 'negligent' in practice. Nevertheless there are also mothers whose own experience has never led them to know or share in the ideal picture of motherhood. Shah & Pervez (1994) point out that the unattractive practices which they describe are shared by middle class families as well as the less well economically favoured.

5.10 How are Differences/Delays in Development Perceived in Pakistan?

Miles & Miles (1993) note that as there is little tradition of birth registration or celebration of birthdays, parents are often vague about their child's age, and ideas of developmental progression of skills are very flexible. However, if they are not judged by developmental norms, children with learning difficulties are liable to judgement against a norm of obedience: "He should be walking, but he won't obey me"; "He's stubborn, he won't write his alphabet"; "She's stubborn, she won't talk properly".

Parents expect their children to learn to obey. Other skills should develop naturally from this obedience. Parents of young children may be worried by delays in walking and talking as important recognised milestones, but are less concerned about independence in feeding, toilet management and dressing. There are always older female hands nearby to assist the latter tasks, whereas walking and talking cannot be done by proxy.

Expectations that a son will grow up like his father and a daughter like her mother may lead to a sense of family shame and of parental failure when the child's disability prevents or seriously delays this. It can be a problem for children of professional families who do not have the capacity to achieve family norms of educational success. Haider (1971, p.70) writes of the shame and guilt experienced by parents in Pakistan who see a stigma attached to having a 'mentally retarded' child. Similarly, Singhi et al (1990) refer to the stress and marital disharmony experienced by mothers of children with disabilities in Indian Punjab, and suggest that this may be a result of families "blaming her for 'this disgrace' to their family", although they also recognised the problems resulting from increased work and diminished opportunities for social contact outside the family. Zaman & Rahman (1990) report that mothers of 'retarded' children in Dhaka, Bangladesh developed more positive attitudes towards their children once they were attending special schools.

5.11 Effects of Migration

Migration is a phenomenon found internationally throughout history. During this century, relatively inexpensive forms of mass transportation have made intercontinental travel feasible for larger numbers of people. Berry (1989) distinguished four possible outcomes for members of minority communities. *Integration* results when cultural identity is maintained and relationships are built up with other groups. *Separation* results when cultural identity is maintained but there are no relationships with other groups. When cultural identity is not maintained, *assimilation* may result; but there may be *marginalisation*, with cultural identity lost but no success in developing relationships with other groups.

Historically, in Britain at least, there is evidence that migrant workers have met with hostility from some quarters of British society (Anwar, 1985; Ballard, 1986). Skin colour and oriental dress have made certain groups more conspicuous and vulnerable than previous migrating groups, especially during periods when unemployment grew substantially among working-class native British. The educationally and economically constricted rural origins of many migrant Pakistani mothers may also have reinforced British professionals' view of Pakistani families as 'problematic', together with publicity generated by a few Islamic fundamentalist groups. Sadly, accumulated prejudices can fall on the young child in an SLD school, whose family culture and MT are then perceived as part of the problem, rather than as potential resources.

5.12 The Pakistani Community in Britain

Many members of the Pakistani community came to Britain as part of the migrant labour system which is a widespread feature of the Pakistani economy. A large proportion of the Pakistani community in Britain originate from Mirpur district, Azad Kashmir, others from Punjab or NWFP provinces. Appendix 5 outlines the development of this community.

Pakistanis in Britain have concentrated in particular areas. Pakistani- run businesses provide many services to these communities, but not educational or specialised medical provision. Anwar (1985) found little social contact between non-professional Pakistanis and members of other ethnic groups (including white), and there is no reason to suppose that this has changed for most families. Many families wish to maintain their cultural and religious traditions, and do not wish for themselves or their children to adopt a more 'British' way of life (Anwar, 1985; Jervis, 1989). Although many families continue to think of return (Ballard, 1986; Anwar, 1985), Ballard points out that a permanent return to Pakistan is unlikely to be feasible for many families, for economic reasons. Shaw (1988) found increasing investment by Pakistanis within England, buying properties and expanding businesses, which may indicate a readiness to settle.

Anwar (1985) described the central importance of maintaining links with family members in Pakistan. The outstanding expression of this is by marriage links. Those resident in Britain may be accused of neglecting their duties and of 'anglicization' if they neglect these (Ballard, 1986). Thus, many of the generation of young 'Pakistanis' educated in Britain are married to partners who have grown up in Pakistan. This is a major difference between Pakistani Muslims and most communities of Indian origin and East African Asians. Newth & Corbett (1993), interviewing a random sample of 129 mothers of three year old children born in Birmingham of Pakistani and Indian origin, found that over 90% of mothers had been brought up in Pakistan or India. Many complained of homesickness.

Nevertheless, the second or third generation of Pakistanis in Britain have very different experiences from their parents and increasing changes in the life of their communities can be expected. Many younger British Pakistanis have had further education, and are entering a broader range of employment than their parents. Many, however, live in areas of high unemployment. Jervis (1989) notes the lack of social integration of young men in this situation. Studying the situation of migrants to Britain, from a Norwegian perspective, Hoel (1982, p.22) observed that "Government policy on immigration in Britain has concentrated on limiting numbers, rather than helping people to settle."

5.13 Changes in Child Rearing Patterns due to Migration

Hoel suggested (p.23) that the purpose of migration is to achieve goals set by the values of the country of origin, thus "The frame of reference used must extend beyond the national boundaries of Britain, if one is to make sense of the situation of migrants from the Indian subcontinent." Sutherland (1983) and Goodnow (1985), working with families of differing ethnic groups in USA and Australia, found that ethnic differences were a significant factor affecting parents' beliefs about children's learning and development. Goodnow also found that parents regarded their own upbringing as the source of most of their ideas on child rearing.

Nevertheless migration results in changes in housing, and family structure (Shaw, 1988), which inevitably change practices relating to infants and young children. While Poulter (1986) argues that many families hope to maintain an extended family pattern, suitable housing may not be available (Shaw, 1988). Instead, they buy houses in the same neighbourhood. Newth & Corbett (1993) found that 40% of their Birmingham Asian families lived within walking distance of the paternal grandmother.

Some services, such as playschemes, are being developed which specifically set out to meet the needs of 'Asian' children, by making modifications to conform with cultural preferences and by employing workers who are members of the community to be served (Kapasi, 1992). As demonstrated by Bower (1994), effective adaptation requires sensitive negotiation with the client group regarding their perception of their needs.

5.14 Contact with Services for Children with Disabilities

Parents from all ethnic groups complain that relationships with professionals fall far short of an ideal (Mayall, 1991). Families from ethnic minority communities may experience additional communication barriers. Language differences are an obvious hurdle. The need for interpreters has often been emphasised (Nathwani, 1987). Desforges (1995) found interpreters were rarely used in interviewing parents regarding their child's educational needs. Abbas et al (1993), surveying services for people with disabilities in Bradford, found that few agencies employed interpreters or provided translated literature. The majority had no Asian staff. Shah (1992) points to difficulties in obtaining satisfactory interpreting services, and the unsuitability of using children, other family members or any untrained person. Syed (1988) refers to difficulties in using interpreters whose use of social markers for status, hierarchy, caste and creed in their conversation create additional barriers to communication; but Harry & Kalyanpur (1994) note concern over confidentiality when interpreters belong to the same community as their clients.

Some professionals complain that communication is a problem, even where parents 'speak English well' (Shah, 1992). Shah suggests that difficulty in understanding accents may be a problem. Hoel (1982, p.37) refers to differences in ways of indicating agreement and disagreement, expressing politeness, eye-contact conventions, gesture, posture, patterns of speaking and listening which may be carried over into second language (cf. Section 3.4). Silence may indicate acquiescence or deep disagreement, or lack of understanding (Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994). Parents may appear to agree with professionals, but only because it would be discourteous to disagree. Hoel (1982) suggests that in stressful situations, such as contact with 'official' agencies, second language skills may suffer. Parent and professional may differ on the nature of the child's difficulty, as described by Sachs (1995).

Conceptual differences regarding children's development and disability can lead to misunderstanding even when an interpreter is provided or parents are fluent speakers of the majority language (Sachs, 1995; Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994). Professionals unfamiliar with intercultural experiences may not realise that many of their own basic assumptions about life are not universal (Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994).

Shah (1992) complains of professionals questioning clients from ethnic minorities about trivial 'differences', while not recognising more significant divergences from majority culture experiences. Johnson & Nadirshaw (1993) suggest that demonstrating empathy and respect for the client's values are more important than becoming a 'cultural expert'. Sontag & Schacht (1994) suggest that parents are reluctant to give information to professionals who demand that families change, but parents wish to share with those who hope to change the system to make it more appropriate. Some families may, however, find it inappropriate to discuss family problems such as concern over a child's development, with persons outside the family group. They may have had little previous contact with professionals, and may be ill at ease with them (Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994).

Harry & Kalyanpur suggest specific issues related to disability where misunderstandings may easily result. Family beliefs that disability is a consequence of their misdeeds may appear to be 'confirmed' by a medical diagnosis of an inherited 'cause'. Such a diagnosis also confirms fears that the whole family is somehow defective. This is particularly regrettable when a family would not have been concerned about the child's development had professionals not become involved. Harry & Kalyanpur (1994) note the "broader tolerance" of diversity in patterns of child development in those communities which do not focus on the early acquisition of 'paper and pencil' skills in a competitive school environment. This view was shared by Hoch (1967), working in India, although Das et al (1970) suggested that 'mild retardation' was perceived as a problem amongst the poorest, least educated, communities.

Differences between parents and professionals in systems of knowledge and belief may constitute a barrier which professionals need to overcome. Professionals continue to suggest that mothers from Pakistan do not have "the basic educational background to understand the child's disabilities", (Abbas et al, 1993, p.8). More accurately, few mothers share the experience and conceptual training of the professional - which is equally true of many English mothers. The onus is then on the professional to improve mutual communications.

Inadequate provision of information about the child's disability may be more easily identified as a problem for parents with limited English, though also experienced by many English families. Cunningham & Davis (1985) emphasize the need to give information to parents in terms they can understand and assimilate. In order to do this professionals must listen to parents and understand their perceptions of the child's needs. Hoel (1982, p.27) remarked that professionals' lack of understanding of Asian cultural beliefs has similarities with their lack of sympathy with English folk beliefs, and that "hospital practices might worry British patients as well as rural Asian immigrants".

Hoel refers to literature produced by professionals about health and social problems of immigrants. Some of these focus on 'immigrants as a problem'. Disabilities and health problems are seen as resulting from cultural practices, which are viewed in a negative manner, and as in need of change. Following publication of research showing a correlation between disability and cousin marriage (Bundey & Alam, 1993) families are increasingly likely to be admonished about this connection, which is unlikely to improve relations between parents and professionals.

While admitting the need for more professionals of Asian origin, Hoel (1982, p.74) noted the cultural differences found in Asia between social classes and particularly the urban and rural populations, so that Asian professionals may be unsympathetic to views they consider 'backward'. Both Shah (1992) and Hoel regard Asian clients as particularly vulnerable to the 'power relations' between professionals and clients, which, they observe, are a feature of parent-teacher relations in special schools. They are less likely to have access to alternative sources of information available to others through reading (Abbas et al, 1993), and may not have the cross-cultural communication skills to challenge decisions; or may consider it discourteous to do so.

Hoel (1982, p.58) suggested that advice from professionals "can be experienced as a form of deskilling by the parents, whose own everyday assumptions about raising children are called into question by the experts." This may also be experienced by parents belonging to the majority ethnic community (McConachie, 1986).

The importance of building parents' self respect is demonstrated by Davis & Rushton (1991). They report a programme which resulted in Bangladeshi mothers experiencing less stress and more positive involvement with their children and husbands, and the children making good progress developmentally and behaviourally. In the original programme, intervention consisted of weekly visits from a Bangladeshi woman, a mother, to explore any issues raised by the parents, whether financial or housing issues, personal relationships or problems related to the child. The positive results were believed by the authors to result from the personal qualities of the counsellor who showed "respect, humility and honesty" towards the families. This programme was expanded (Davis et al, 1994) and continued to be effective, workers being trained to be respectful and develop the self-esteem of parents, and with an emphasis on the need for humility on the part of workers.

Hoel's recommendations in 1982 for further development of parent groups, of information, including video production, and of bilingual provision, are still largely unmet in 1995. Of the professionals she interviewed, only one (the speech therapist) argued for the need for children to develop their MT. Others saw the lack of English at home as a 'problem'. Hoel's own experience from Scandinavia was of a model where MT is used in the reception classes of schools, although Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) indicates this rarely happened in practice. To meet the needs of all parents, including those from ethnic minorities, Hoel (p.84) called for more "participation for all parents in planning and evaluating services".

5.16 Summary of Relevant Points

Some of these may be confirmed during the fieldwork; the possibility of differences between cultural expectations of the school and the home will be taken into account in planning fieldwork.

1. Cultural differences may affect patterns of language acquisition.
2. Patterns of child rearing vary between cultures: not only practices but also the aims may differ.
3. Assessment procedures for early identification of learning difficulties may result in inappropriate labelling of children as 'delayed', or as 'severely' rather than 'mildly delayed'.
4. Parents may not wish to co-operate with professionals whose advice contradicts their concepts relating to their child. Professionals need to beware of 'deskilling' parents by challenging their values.
5. Parents may not see any value in playing with children.
6. Parents may not regard it as appropriate to talk to children.
7. A mother may not see it as her role to interact with children. She may see it as a grandparent's role (but grandmother may not be available); or she may see it as sister's role (but she may be at school).
8. Almost all children learn to talk, in all cultures: but some practices may be more suitable for children with learning difficulties.
9. It may be possible to modify school practices, to take into account cultural differences.
10. There is a wide variation in child-rearing practices within Pakistan.
11. Mothers of young children may have recently arrived from Pakistan and be unfamiliar with British cultural practices.
12. Parents may need considerable encouragement to participate in discussion with professionals.

Chapter 6. PRACTICAL INVESTIGATION OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION OF CHILDREN WITH SEVERE LEARNING DIFFICULTIES: METHODOLOGY & DESIGN

The present study of the effects of bilingualism on children with learning difficulties arose from personal experience and interest. I also wished to discover whether my intuitive practice would find some basis in the results of formal investigation, and whether this could influence the practice that I saw in some English schools. It was necessary first to decide the aim and methodological basis of the study.

6.1 First Thoughts: Search for a Question

My initial idea was to explore ways of showing whether children from homes where English was not usually spoken were disadvantaged by the usual practice, in SLD Schools, of supporting children only in learning to speak English. I expected to find some disadvantage, if a valid means could be found to demonstrate it.

At this stage I expected to use a traditional research approach, setting up an 'objective' inquiry, which would produce quantifiable evidence relevant to my hypothesis, by means of a controlled study. However, as my plans developed and my reading broadened, my perspective on research changed.

I first considered devising a comparative study; either comparing bilingual with monolingual children, or comparing children whose school encouraged their bilingualism with those whose school used only English. I considered designing a controlled experimental study that could convince teachers and policy-makers that bilingual children with delayed development were disadvantaged by the absence of MT support - as is suggested by many writers with regard to normally developing children (Chapters 3 & 4).

Comparison of schools was not practicable. I knew of no SLD schools in England which actively supported children's non-English MT acquisition. My full-time teaching post restricted me to working in a single school, and also ruled out observation and comparison with bilingual systems in Wales. To study several schools would involve many different factors that would be impossible to control, such as methods of teaching language and pupils' social class. Earlier bilingualism work, e.g. pre-1960 Welsh studies (see Appendix 2) failed to take account of such variables. Their results were later seen to be invalid. Traditional quantitative research models require variables to be controlled so that only the factors under study, in this case bilingualism, should cause differences in results.

Comparison of groups of children within the same school would similarly be hard to control. In England, children from English-speaking homes receive MT education, while children from minority homes are taught in a second language. Yet differences in child-rearing patterns might be more significant than differences resulting from bilingualism. There is much variation in the degree and type of learning difficulty between individual children at SLD schools, which would make comparison of small groups meaningless.

If there had been any standardised norms for monolingual children with learning difficulties relating level of expressive language to an independent indicator of cognitive ability such as symbolic play, a comparison of bilingual children with those monolingual norms could have indicated whether they were experiencing disadvantage. However, no such norms are available; and current views of language acquisition suggest that the interrelationship of language and cognitive development is such that it is not possible to find truly independent variables for purposes of comparison. For example, Miller, Chapman & Mackenzie (1981), studying 130 subjects, compared assessment of cognitive functioning (using a range of measures including Uzgiris & Hunt's scales of cognitive development, 1975, and norms of play behaviour) with syntactic comprehension, receptive vocabulary and expressive language using mean length of utterance and presence of grammatical structures. This comparison showed highly individual patterns of development: 50% of children were functioning at or beyond the level of language *comprehension* expected by cognitive level (although *production* was never advanced according to cognitive level); 25% showed delays in both comprehension and production of language as compared to cognitive level and 25% were delayed only in productive syntax.

Developing a comparative study, whether by experimental activity or by observing different groups of children, no longer appeared viable.

6.2 Broader Perspectives

Lambert (1990, p.201) describes how his initial concern to measure bilingual proficiency soon broadened, as he realised that bilingualism was "inextricably linked" with various other factors, including social, psychological and political issues. Similarly, I now wished to gain a broader picture of the consequences for children of belonging to two minority groups: a linguistic- cultural minority and the minority of children placed in SLD schools. This required an open-ended approach, observing current practices and varying the direction of the research accordingly. I hoped to avoid preconceived expectations relating to the research, and to be open to new ideas. Rather than formulating and testing a hypothesis, I hoped my findings would generate insights, and that theoretical understanding would grow from questions thus generated. Such an approach to research was described by Glaser & Strauss (1967). They developed the perspective of 'grounded' theory, whereby the analysis of research data leads to new developments in theory and thus concepts and hypotheses are formed from the consideration of, and with relevance to, practical situations.

Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991) discuss a range of methodologies for second language acquisition research within the context of *quantitative* and *qualitative* methods and paradigms - concluding that these are not competing but complementary perspectives: the most effective approaches are likely to combine both. They compare features of these paradigms and methods thus: (See Box 6.1, next page). My aim for a 'broader perspective' clearly fitted a qualitative model of research.

In addition to learning more about the children's needs, I wished to explore strategies for meeting these needs. I needed an overall methodology that would allow me to examine a range of factors affecting language skills acquisition amongst the bilingual children of Pakistani origin at the particular school where I was working, and to make interventions, using an approach which permitted ongoing design modifications. My continuing exploration of broad theoretical issues (see Chapters 2-5) would complement my practical research. Within this overall framework I needed to identify methods of studying specific issues: I would need tools for measuring children's language skills; I would look at ethnographic approaches to studying family interactions; and other issues as the need arose.

6.3 Action Research

Action Research methodology was developed in the USA by Kurt Lewin, from the 1930s onwards, largely in the context of working with minority communities (Adelman, 1993). In Britain, Stenhouse was an early proponent of the use of Action Research in educational contexts, such as his Humanities Curriculum Project (Stenhouse, 1973, 1983). The Action Research model is characterised by a constant cyclical process in which planning, action, monitoring, evaluation, theorising, lead to further planning and action (Edwards & Talbot, 1994).

Action Research sometimes involves close collaboration between a professional researcher and the practitioners whose work is the subject of the research (e.g. Hernandez, 1992); however the researcher herself is usually a practitioner (Practitioner Research), or a group of practitioners researching collaboratively. The following two features are consistently reported as central to Practitioner Action Research:

1. The researcher is a practitioner, researching her own practice.
2. The cycle (as described above) leads to a spiralling progression of analysis of a situation/practice and implementing change.

This spiral enables the researcher concurrently to develop an understanding of a problem while trying out solutions for that problem. Practitioner Action Research is inevitably limited by the specific situation in which the researcher is placed.

Griffiths & Tann (1992) distinguish between 'Action Research' and other forms of practitioner research, by defining Action Research as requiring *systematic* monitoring and *rigorous* evaluation. They argue that reflection on practice then needs to be combined with a critical reading of theory. This produces new insights on theory, generating further 'grounded' theoretical perspectives, following the model of grounded research described above.

Within the overall action research model a number of patterns have been described. Adelman (1993) refers to four types of action research as classified by Lewin:

diagnostic:	the change agent intervenes in an already existing situation, diagnoses the problem and recommends remedial measures.
participant:	the research subjects share in the design and carrying out of the research.

Box 6.1 Quantative & Qualitative Approaches

Qualitative	Quantitative
Concerned with understanding the actor's frame of reference.	Seeking facts with little regard of subjective states.
Naturalistic, uncontrolled observation.	Obtrusive and controlled measurement.
Subjective.	Objective.
Grounded, discovery oriented, exploratory, descriptive, inductive.	Ungrounded, verification-oriented, confirmatory, replicable.
Process-oriented.	Outcome oriented.

(Adapted from Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991, Table 2.1, p.12.)

empirical: involves record keeping and accumulating experiences in day to day work.
experimental: a controlled study of relative effectiveness of various techniques in nearly identical social situations.

In these terms, my research would have some diagnostic features, but be largely empirical, with an effort to secure theoretical underpinning. I hoped for some participant involvement from colleagues and parents.

Referring to Blum (in National Educational Association of the United States, 1959), Cohen & Manion (1989, p.217) suggest that Action Research may consist of "a diagnostic stage in which the problems are analyzed and the hypotheses tested: and a therapeutic stage in which the hypotheses are tested by a consciously directed change experiment". They further suggest that Action Research differs from 'applied research' in not emphasising the production of generalisable scientific knowledge, but rather finding solutions to problems applicable in a specific setting. Views differ as to whether knowledge generated in Action Research can have broader theoretical implications. It is sometimes suggested that such knowledge is of very limited value outside the specific situation studied. In Action Research it is not possible to control variables, as they form part of the particular situation under study. Winter (1989) suggests that time is too limited and the scale of an Action Research project too small to produce adequate data for theoretical consideration. He also believes (p.35) that theoretical outcomes of practitioner action research cannot stand up to academic criticism as the researcher cannot have adequate knowledge of the academic background and research methods of fields connected to her work. Suggesting that constraints of time make the necessary depth of study impracticable, he develops his idea of Action Research as one in which this academic knowledge is unnecessary.

There are various responses to these criticisms. Variables cannot be controlled, but relevant factors must be monitored, and if this monitoring is sufficiently systematic and results are critically analyzed (Griffiths & Tann, 1992) the findings may be relevant to a wider theoretical picture, especially if compared to results found under different constraints. The varied results of studies relating to the education of bilingual children (Chapters 3 & 4) show that it is not only in Action Research that there are dangers in generalizing results from one situation to another. Much of the 'traditional' research reviewed in Chapters 2 & 3, on language acquisition, learning difficulties and bilingual language acquisition, studied smaller samples of children than were available for my study. I believed it necessary to find time for relevant theoretical reading, searching for relevant insights and approaches.

However, Winter (1989), further developing arguments from Carr & Kemmis (1986), suggests that Action Research should not aim to generate theoretical or 'scientific' knowledge. Carr & Kemmis (1986) argued that Action Research is devised for the solution of specific educational problems. They defined these as being problems with practice, to be solved by adopting an action, rather than by investigating and discovering theoretical knowledge. These views of Action Research arise from a critique and rejection of a 'positivist' view of knowledge, following the views propounded by Habermas. By rejecting the philosophical idea of objective knowledge, it is argued that research cannot be a means of obtaining knowledge with application outside its immediate social context. Instead, Action Research is a means of forming a critical community of researchers (including teachers, pupils, parents and all others involved in education) and enabling them to take control of the processes of education. Crookes (1991) suggests that, following Carr & Kemmis, the challenging of assumptions and a critique of the effects of power structures within the school are a necessary part of an action research methodology.

Debate on the nature of knowledge and the philosophical basis of research, although acknowledged as relevant (see e.g. Skrtic, 1991), will not be pursued here, as to do so adequately would require writing another thesis. However, I was seeking more than the 'emancipation' which writers such as Carr & Kemmis (1986) see as the outcome of Action Research. I would attempt to be rigorous, systematic and critical in monitoring and analysing my research in the expectation of obtaining insights into the needs of the children concerned, not merely a critique of my own practice and that of my colleagues. Insights would have relevance to other situations where children with 'severe learning difficulties' live in two cultural and linguistic environments, by illustrating some possible experiences, and providing a basis for dialogue (Skrtic, 1991, p.10).

The complexity of the topic, the need for an exploratory approach, and the practical necessity of working in an everyday school situation where many factors could not be controlled, all indicated the need for a qualitative approach. The Action Research cycle would allow the necessary flexibility as I explored relevant issues and tried to introduce new practices.

While Action Research often involves collaboration, I had reason to doubt that my colleagues would wish to participate or collaborate in my research. My interest in the topic resulted from personal experience, and was not shared by most colleagues. The school where I worked did not have a democratic framework. Challenging ideas were not expected to arise from 'junior teachers' and criticism was not welcomed. Being employed by a support service and placed within the school, my position was regarded by some colleagues as marginal. The absence of collaboration and support had considerable effect on the way in which the research developed. Collaboration with parents might arise, but I was poorly placed to negotiate changes in the school context as a result of parental contributions.

Within a broad Action Research methodology, I thus defined open-ended questions for study:

1. What factors affect language acquisition of children from non-English speaking families of South Asian origin who attend an SLD school in England?
2. What interventions can facilitate their acquisition of language skills?

6.4 Issues of Context & Design

The purpose of my research was to study language acquisition in a group of children. I would monitor children's progress at school, but also wished to include home and cultural factors.

Bloch & Swadener (1992, p.175) suggest that the theoretical emphases in studies of early childhood education are generally based on individualistic cognitive psychology and child development. These make assumptions based on a dominant, middle-class view of childhood, often disregarding broader cultural or critical perspectives, though these are of particular importance to studies of children from minority communities. Current developments both in thought about child language acquisition and issues in bilingualism point to the importance of children's early language experience and its relation to cultural identity. The survey of ethnographic literature (Chapter 5) covered cross-cultural differences in language acquisition, child-rearing in Pakistan and experiences of ethnic minority communities in England. All these topics were relevant to the issues central in this study.

6.4.1 Ethnographic research methods

Much research into intercultural issues is based on an ethnographic model, where observation takes place, looking at people within their social and cultural contexts. Intervention is not generally part of the research. However, in working with families, I decided to consider issues from ethnographic methodology.

Spindler (1982) describes the attributes of ethnographic research which include the following features:

1. Observations are set in context, both the immediate context and where necessary beyond.
2. Hypotheses and questions emerge during the process of the study: no decisions are made until an initial 'orienting' phase is completed.
3. Observations take place over a prolonged period.
4. Attempts are made to discover the participants' viewpoint, using interviews and where necessary devising schedules. Questions should not predetermine responses, giving respondents the opportunity to share information naturally.
5. A major part of the task is to grasp the participants' understanding and frameworks of social behaviour and communication skills. This can involve making explicit what respondents regard as implicit.
6. Ethnographic studies aim not to disturb or change the setting being studied.
7. The researcher holds a perspective on cultural differences. Spindler suggests that the ethnographer will hold the view that "all cultures are adaptations to the exigencies of life and exhibit common as well as distinguishing features" (1982, p.70).

By Spindler's criteria my study was 'ethnographic research', with the possible exception of item 6 (discussed below).

Shweder & Bourne (1982) refer to three commonly held models for interpreting other cultures:

A. *Universalism*. Cultural differences are superficial and basically everyone thinks in the same way. People holding this view will minimise any descriptions of cultural differences.
B. *Evolutionary*. Cultural practices and attitudes may be 'different' from 'our own', but they are more primitive and will change and develop to be like 'ours'.

C. *Relativistic*. Cultures may have considerable differences; but they are of equal value.[1]

My own intercultural experiences of the past 17 years led me to take 'relativistic' approach. I expected to work as far as possible in ways which would conform to, rather than challenge, parental value systems. However, in comparing children's experience with that described in the literature, reviewed in chapters 2-5, I would be likely to make some evaluations of the consequence of parental practices for their children.

The role of researchers from dominant ethnic groups working with less powerful groups is increasingly under question. Skutnabb-Kangas (1990) writes critically of research resulting in defining ethnic groups (and their members) according to their degree of difference from, or assimilation into, the culturally-dominant society. She assumes that research will be used to encourage members of the minority groups to change. However, the study of minority groups may be motivated by the wish to make services more effective for all clients. For children to be offered the most effective educational provision, some understanding of their home and cultural background is necessary. Without it, schools have neither grounds nor motivation to adapt their practices. However, the emphasis should be on changing the system, not the family (Sontag & Schacht 1994; Hanson et al, 1990). Services will be improved by an increased awareness of the possible range of children's experiences, while professionals should avoid generalising their experiences of individual families to other members of the same ethnic group.

Cross-cultural research is often described in the terms *emic* and *etic*. Ekstrand & Ekstrand (1986) survey uses of these terms since they were first coined by Pike in 1954. Basically, *emic* research is produced by a researcher from within the culture being studied, and reflects the values and concerns of that culture, while *etic* research examines a culture from outside, and thus often reflects on how the culture differs from that of the researcher. Ekstrand & Ekstrand propose a series of dimensions which together give a picture of the emic - etic contrast; each dimension is a continuum, not an either/or absolute. Their dimensions include 'from the inside / from the outside', 'researcher's acculturation' and use of an 'instrument'.

My personal emic/etic status was ambivalent. Obviously I was not a birth-member of the Pakistani community resident in Britain; yet on starting the research, a year after returning from Pakistan, I still in many ways identified more closely with Pakistani cultures than with the majority British culture. Though I usually wore western dress at work, many of the families whom I visited assumed that I was of Pakistani origin, and made repeated efforts to learn the 'secret' of whereabouts in Pakistan I belonged. Colleagues at school were puzzled when parents telephoned and requested to speak to the 'Pakistani' teacher. Mothers addressed me as 'auntie' or 'baji' (older sister). I had become 'blind' to many features of Pakistani culture, a feature of emic research. During the research period I was aware of gradually becoming reintegrated within British culture, while still observing many features as though I were an outsider.

Ekstrand regards the use of an instrument (e.g. an interview schedule) as etic. If modified within the system being studied, he regards it as a 'derived etic'. Similarly, if the criteria for determining whether certain behaviour is 'cultural' is derived within the culture, it is emic; derived from outside, it is etic.

My research design involved an ethnographic approach, with the apparent difference that I was planning some intervention. An ethnographic approach studies a culture but normally does not plan to change it. My first intention in studying children at home was to adapt practices at school so to take more account of their experiences. However, I also aimed to provide parents with information facilitating linguistic interactions with their child at home. Parental partnership is part of the ideology, if not always the practice, of western special education. To provide the best education for children, parents should be offered opportunities to participate in it. While change might arise within the home as a result of my intervention, I was concerned that it should be compatible with the values of parents as well as the interests of children.

Arguably, my proposed 'intervention' was not something outside Pakistani family cultures, as those cultures evolve and develop in Britain. Pakistani parents in Britain, sending children to school, know that they will learn many things that are not within traditional Pakistani cultures. Accommodating to British schooling, while trying to maintain important parts of traditional Pakistani cultures, is part of the present British-Pakistani minority culture. Although many parents in Pakistan have little contact with their children's schools (Shah &

Pervez, 1994), there is a strong tradition amongst middle and upper class families, and others with aspirations to social mobility, of employing teachers to give extra tuition at home. Sometimes parents in England asked me if I could do this on a regular, formal basis. Thus in most of the families studied, although some of the activities I suggested were unfamiliar, my 'intervention' by offering a little information and advice was not significantly outside families' cultural expectations. However, I continued to consider ethical implications of intervention (see Section 6.5).

6.4.2 Interviews

To learn about the children's language skills at home, and related factors in their home background, I expected to talk to parents. It seemed likely that different phases of the research would require different styles of interviewing. I was not undertaking a survey type of interview, requiring a standardised approach. The aim was to explore issues and share information. Mishler (1986) stresses the distinction between standardised surveys and interviews to obtain more personal information, and indicates that, even when such an approach would appear appropriate, attempts to standardise questions usually fail. Where the purpose is to discover information, interviewing styles need flexibility to relate questions to the immediate context.

Mishler writes (1986, p.100) of the dual roles of listener/questioner and narrator/responder in interviews. Powney & Watts (1987) distinguish between *informant* (informant has control) and *respondent* (interviewer has control) interview styles. The interviewer should be sensitive to the informant's responses, to find ways of sharing the latter's understanding of issues being explored. Mishler writes of the value of 'narrative' styles of discourse and the benefits of an interview style that encourages a narrative response - where the respondent 'relives' an incident in talking about it.

Powney & Watts (1987) note the distress sometimes generated in interviewing parents of children with 'severe handicaps'. Bradburn & Sudman (1979) found that open-ended questions were more effective when discussing topics possibly 'threatening' to the informant. I considered that some parents might regard questions related to child-rearing practices as over-intrusive and perhaps threatening.

Powney & Watts (1987) suggest that interviewing may create problems for the practitioner action researcher, as the relationship with parents will continue after the research is completed. I did not regard this as a problem, having a continuing relationship with parents, in my home-school role. I was trying to develop this role as parent-supportive, to empower them in relations with the school, rather than being an emissary of the school's culture. My role in the school would affect the issue of confidentiality. The school had no previous records of children's MT skills, so parents were to be informed that information would be made available to their child's class teacher, and some placed in school records. Parents were also to be told about the research aims of the interview, and their consent requested.

I considered whether to audio tape-record some interviews. I did not consider using video as I had learnt in Pakistan that some Muslim women would not wish to be photographed. Heath (1983, p.8) writes that she did not use tape recorders with families until they themselves were familiar with recording. While I expected my families to use tape-recorders to play music, and video-recorders to see films, I had no reason to expect that they made recordings, or that mothers had ever heard recordings of themselves. I decided to keep to written observations when interviewing parents or observing children at home.

Briggs (1983, 1984) discussed interviewing in situations where the interviewer and informant do not share the same cultural background, showing how the social roles of interviewer and respondent may be such that it is inappropriate for the respondent to answer the questions posed. He related this, in the context of the New Mexico community where he worked, to different styles of interaction used during learning: children learn by observing and then repeat what adults say, young adults may ask their seniors to develop a topic they have introduced; only a mature, respected member of the community has the 'right' to produce original questions. Briggs found that, where he regarded himself as conducting an interview, his informants saw their role as pedagogical: they were teaching him correct behaviour. They did not respond when they found his form of questioning inappropriate. Exceptions were those informants who were themselves bilingual. Although interviews were conducted in Spanish, informants who were at ease with English conversation patterns easily took part in the interview. Briggs concluded that, in ethnographic study, the interviewer should adopt a "critical and reflexive approach" (1983, p.255), supplementing interviews with other methods of obtaining the required information. Whether this would have any relevance to interviewing women of Pakistani origin in England remained to be seen, but I wished to be aware of possible reasons for failure to elicit information.

In planning interviews, my purpose, as teacher as well as researcher, was to enable parents to become more actively involved in their child's education. The purpose of interviews would not be simply to elicit information, but to develop this partnership.

6.5 Ethical Issues in Changing Practices at Home

While aiming to facilitate parents' participation in their child's language development, I was concerned about ethical issues in advocating changes in parenting practices of members of minority groups. Initially I hoped to respond to parental requests for information about how to help children's learning. Parental participation in children's development is considered an important feature of special education (McConkey, 1985; McConachie, 1986; Cunningham & Davies, 1985; Mittler & Mittler, 1994) and was part of my own professional role in the school. I considered that 'providing information' was more acceptable than actively encouraging parents to change their practices. The former empowers parents to choose an action, while the latter might appear to sit in judgement on their parenting skills. Being uneasy about the ethics of advocating change, I wished to consider guidelines for intervention.

Sigel (1983) discussed the need for a shared relationship between professional and family, acknowledging the family's right to "control their destiny". He also noted that change in child-rearing patterns may have far-reaching consequences for children and for social networks. Considering programmes aiming to change child-rearing practices, particularly where families belong to minority groups, Sigel (1983, pp.9-10) asked

> "What happens to a low-income black family's social network when it shifts its child rearing strategies as a consequence of a parent education programme? Do these changes create new adjustment problems for the family?"

He pointed to the need to discuss possible consequences of change with parents in advance, warning that practices found beneficial in a white middle-class context could have very different effects in another context.

Heath & Levin (1991) suggest that families will want to take part in an intervention programme only if it makes sense to them within their cultural framework. However, they may not feel empowered to openly reject a programme that is offered. Their respect for professionals may disempower them from questioning the advice given (Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994). If they believe their role is 'nurturing-protecting' rather than actively rearing their children (Section 5.4) they may not see any point in the programme. As seen in Section 5.13, parents may regard their own upbringing as the greatest influence on their child-rearing beliefs. They might welcome discussion about how their changed circumstances may necessitate change in practices, e.g. the absence of grandparents could mean that the mother's role should be adapted or grandparent substitutes found.

Parents may be happy to alter their practices towards what they believe is a better model. However, if professionals suggest changes incompatible with parents' beliefs about good parenting, e.g. suggesting they 'play' with their children when this is not culturally approved behaviour, the innovation may be rejected, or parents may suffer loss of confidence which would in itself be damaging to parent-child interaction. Families could feel their values threatened by attempts to change family interaction patterns. On the other hand, both national and international changes in socio-economic structures demand changes in family expectations and demands on children. If families from ethnic minorities were excluded from programmes for developing parent practices, on the assumption that their culture was too fragile to face challenges, this would be an unacceptable discrimination.

McConachie (1991) recommends that when mothers do not themselves wish to take a teaching role, the professional should build a programme around opportunities for the targeted child to interact with other children, while the mother would be encouraged to incorporate learning into those activities she did see as her role, such as dressing the child.

There can be no ethical justification in persuading parents to change their child-rearing practices without evidence that the change will benefit the child (or, possibly, other family members). Sigel (1983) suggests that few parental training programmes are based on adequately researched findings, and McConachie (1986, p.194) believes that in practice intervention programmes are "guided as much by common sense and guesswork as by research evidence."

Patterns of interaction with a child who has a disability may be different from those which parents would have with a normally developing child (see Section 2.4.3). Intervention enabling parents to relate in a way more 'normal' by their own standards, with a child who has a disability, should not meet objections on ethical grounds, unless what this family consider 'normal' is unacceptable to the wider society.

Sigel (1983, p.3) argues that the professional should "articulate the assumptions and values that guide one in conducting intervention. In this way the ethics question is made explicit". This articulation should be made to the parents, thereby enabling them to choose whether to participate. Parents may be helped to examine their practices, to see to what extent they have deviated from those which were culturally valued (as a result of migration, or because of the child's disability, or for any other reason). It would be reasonable to discuss with parents the most appropriate response to this change: whether further adaptations in practice were required, to balance out the effects of changes that had been made, or in response to the child's disability.

6.6 Initial Research Design

An action research design is not complete until a decision has been made that the research itself has been completed, as it is subject to constant reappraisal and modification. However, my initial plan was for two phases:

1. An initial exploration of the language abilities of children at the school. These children had received no support at school for their MT development.

This could be regarded as an initial 'diagnostic' phase, approved by some writers (Cohen & Manion, 1989) but not seen as appropriate for Action Research by Winter (see above). I wished to compare children's relative proficiency in their two languages, using an approach that, while made in a natural setting, would have some degree of objectivity. I would also discuss each child's language skills with the class teacher, and with the family. In traditional models of research, two further experimental approaches to the same topic are recommended, to see whether the results are mutually confirmatory or contradictory, a process known as *triangulation*. Elliott (1992) refers to the common practice in Action Research of obtaining data from teaching colleagues and pupils. My own observations would be extended by discussion with teachers and parents, this being a further investigation of the child's abilities and needs. This would provide additional information rather than simply 'confirming results'. I wanted to try to gain a broader picture of the child's abilities, rather than simply a measure of 'performance' in one particular situation.

2. A longitudinal study over two years of ten children attending the school nursery.

This would involve the exploration of approaches to be used at school, and strategies for providing information to parents at home. The details would be developed and modified as work proceeded, following the 'Action Research cycle'. I expected intervention to take place both at school and, in cooperation with parents, at home.

Details and results of this research occupy the next three chapters.

Notes

1. Pedersen (1995, pp.34-36), writing from a perspective of developing ethical guidelines for cross-cultural counsellors, uses the term 'absolutism' where Shweder & Bourne used 'universalism'. He finds that a relativistic approach allows each ethnic group to generate its own system of values. While this is appropriate for anthropological study, he finds this makes dialogue about moral issues difficult between members of different groups. He prefers a form of 'universalism' which believes that "psychological processes such as pleasure and pain may be universal, [] but expressed in different ways" (ibid., p.36), and makes it possible to search for differences and similarities between cultures. While acknowledging that this model would be valuable in some situations, I did not intend to challenge parents' values, or enter into dialogue about moral issues.

Chapter 7. A STUDY OF RELATIVE PROFICIENCY IN USING ENGLISH & MOTHER TONGUE

The initial stage of my study involved comparing children's proficiency in using English with their use of MT.

7.1 Preparatory Issues

There are few reported comparisons of this nature, particularly in special schools. Roberts & Gibbs (1989, pp.173-4) tested Asian children attending a school for children with physical disabilities in Sandwell. Some children performed equally well in both languages, as measured by the Sandwell Diagnostic Expressive Language Assessment (published as 'Sandwell Bilingual Screening Assessment', Duncan et al, 1988), a similar language profile being obtained in Punjabi as in English. However, they found a "fairly large" group of children who, according to the profiles, had more skills in English than in MT, and a small number who appeared to be developing normally in Punjabi but had very limited skills in English. Roberts & Gibbs particularly found that children they describe as having "central nervous system involvement", had more skills in English than MT, as measured in school, using a formal test.

I wished to know whether these results would be replicated at an SLD school. Roberts & Gibbs suggested that structured teaching had helped those children whose English was better developed than their MT. I wondered to what extent this would apply to the children in the SLD school, and if I might identify other possible reasons for either language being better developed than the other.

Relevant studies of children in mainstream schools include that of Clark, Barr & Dewhurst (1984). This used the "Preschool Language Assessment Instrument" on 41 children of "Asian ethnic origin" shortly after admission in Sandwell infant schools. The children were tested in English, then again in Punjabi. A year later, following a period of intensive second language teaching, they were retested in English. The study aimed to investigate English learning, rather than to compare children's ongoing development in both languages, so MT was not tested on the second occasion. At the time of retest, only one child had a score in English lower than his score of the previous year in Punjabi.

Many Speech and Language Therapists consider bilingual assessment to be essential (Stokes & Duncan, 1989; Ara & Thompson, 1989; College of Speech Therapists, 1990; and many others). Where the child has a language delay or communication difficulty they recommend considering the needs of the individual child regarding language of intervention (Miller & Abudarham, 1984; Abudarham, 1987), emphasising the undesirability of a monolingual English model (Stokes & Duncan, 1989) and presenting a model of bilingual provision (Duncan & Gibbs, 1989; College of Speech Therapists, 1990).

However, the special school in which this study took place, like most others in England, is monolingual English. Although the school employed some bilingual ancillary staff and there was a flow of bilingual students on placement and occasional bilingual volunteers, these people were seldom encouraged to use their bilingual skills in the school. One teacher had studied some Urdu and sometimes tried using it with older, more able pupils; she encouraged them to help her to learn more. However, she was unable to hold more than a very simple conversation. Sadly, this exceptional teacher left the school soon after I began this study. A Speech and Language Therapist visited the school for one week each term; later this became one day a week. Therapists changed frequently, none had skills in languages spoken by the Asian children and they appeared to have little influence on practices in the school.

The teacher in an SLD school normally has little reason to fear that her personal stock of knowledge could be inadequate for the task of teaching young children labelled as having 'Severe Learning Difficulties'. Introducing non-English languages, known by pupils and ancillary staff, but not by the teacher, sharply alters the balance of knowledge and control in the classroom. Not surprisingly, some teachers find the idea threatening; but their own discomfort in the face of an unknown language might be a starting point from which to imagine the problems facing young children plunged into a monolingual English classroom.

7.2 What Aspect of Language To Examine?

Romaine (1989), Hamers & Blanc (1989), Baker (1993) and Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991) survey many aspects of language which have been studied in examining bilingual proficiency. However, most of these were inappropriate to children with restricted abilities in both their languages. My pupils ranged from those having only very basic forms of communication (facial expression and crying) through to some able to hold a fluent verbal conversation. I wished to include as many as possible of the children able to speak. This meant investigating the skills of children at widely differing levels of language development. As this was only the first phase of my research, I hoped to avoid a time-consuming approach. I expected many children to be able to use both languages to some degree although some would have more skills in, or preference for, using one language than the other.

I decided not to use formal language tests. Most of the tests available in Punjabi used Gurmukhi script, which I could not read; this dialect is used by Sikhs in India, and differs from dialects used by Muslim Punjabi speakers of Pakistan (see Appendix 1). Even if an appropriate test had been available, I preferred to study the children's language in a wider, more natural context than a test situation. Most children were not accustomed to using their MT in school. I hoped to be able to overcome this barrier to some extent, but doubted that children would become sufficiently at ease in the relatively short time available, to use it in a formal testing situation.

I decided to focus on children's expressive use of language. Without a more formal approach, comprehension skills would be harder to evaluate. Choice of the correct dialect expression, ways of using non-verbal cues, as well as context, would affect the child's response.

I did not wish to study vocabulary, as choice of word depends on context. This was demonstrated when I took some children shopping. They had recently had a lesson on naming fruit and vegetables and their teacher was confident that they knew the English names, but in the shop the children used the Urdu/Punjabi names and seemed to have difficulty recalling the English. 'Loan' words could also create difficulties. Madhani (1989) found Punjabi-speaking families using a large proportion of English loan words with babies, so that 39 of the first 63 nouns used by the infants were English. I would need to observe to what extent loan words were used by the families before assigning words to one language or the other.

Analysis of grammatical structures was also excluded. Many families speak forms of their language which do not have a 'standard' grammar (see Appendix 1). Dialects vary considerably and the extent to which their language is influenced by English is likely to differ from family to family. However, a readily accessible basic measure of grammatical development is the Mean Length of Utterance (hereafter MLU).

7.3 Mean Length of Utterance

Studies of children under three, or with learning difficulties, often use MLU as a measure of language development. It was first proposed as a measure of grammatical development of children under five, by Brown (1973), and involved calculating the number of morphemes per utterance. An utterance is defined as an unbroken stretch of speech. Morphemes are "the smallest meaningful elements into which words can be analysed" (Crystal, 1987, p.90). Each change made to a word is scored, e.g. modification for number, gender, tense of verb. Compound words and set phrases such as greetings normally score as one item.

Various modifications have been suggested since Brown first developed this measure. Harris (1983) counted words rather than morphemes, as none of the children he sampled used morphemic variations. Imitations of preceding adult utterances are usually excluded, but Snow (1989) argues against this as repetition of adult forms can be an important means of expressing ideas.

Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991, p.43), noting the useful role of MLU in MT acquisition studies, express the need for a similar index of development for second language acquisition. They find that MLU is not appropriate to second language acquisition measurement, because the learner is expected to be able to produce long utterances after only brief contact with the second language. In the case of very young children, or children with learning difficulties, this objection does not apply.

Some writers have criticised the use of MLU. Price (1989, p.199) argues that MLU is an inadequate measure of language development when taken alone, as it ignores, for example, the frequency of utterances, the range of contexts in which the child speaks, the range of pragmatic functions and the ability to initiate and respond to communication. Price is particularly concerned about its use with children with delayed language development, as improvements may not be detected.

Klee & Fitzgerald (1985), found MLU to have low or insignificant correlations with the Language Assessment, Remediation and Screening Procedure (LARSP), (Crystal, Fletcher & Garman, 1976). Responding to this, Rondal et al (1987) analyzed data and concluded that MLU is a valid predictor of syntactic complexity until approximately MLU 3.00; beyond this it can still provide a general guideline in language development. Klee & Fitzgerald (1985) developed a measure of

Mean Syntactic Length (MSL), in which single morpheme utterances were excluded, but, on testing it found this gave no more correlation with grammatical complexity than MLU at higher levels.

Harris (1983, p.154) noted that Brown "expressed reservations regarding the extent to which children learning different languages could be matched for linguistic maturity using this statistic." However, Brown (1973) examined reports of children speaking many different languages and found a considerable degree of consistency. His studies included very diverse languages, such as Japanese and African languages. Brown noted that, with MLU up to 2, findings in other languages appeared consistent with the detailed studies of American and German.

Use of the morpheme rather than the word makes interlanguage comparisons more feasible. The English future tense requires three words "I will go", while in Urdu this would be expressed by one word "Aungi" - but the latter comprises three morphemes: 'A', root of the verb 'go'; 'ung' for first person singular and future tense; 'i' for feminine gender of the subject. Levy (1983) comparing her son's development of English and Hebrew, found problems in calculating MLU in Hebrew because it is an inflectional language, where a relatively greater number of grammatical features are marked by changing or adding morphemes, rather than by separate words. Brown (1973, p.71) suggests that in inflectional languages he would credit all the separate morphemes of a word if the child used them correctly. Dromi & Berman (1982) found the MPU (morpheme per utterance) appropriate for measuring the child's growing competence in Hebrew. They defined the inflections for which they would credit additional morphemes, i.e. gender endings only if the child clearly intends to make a meaningful distinction of gender; plural forms when this involves an inflection rather than being a separate plural form; verbs other than third person masculine singular forms, but not a girl using feminine endings about herself). Nevertheless they recognised that these were arbitrary decisions, and there could be no evidence for precise correlation between languages.

Redlinger & Park (1980) and Vihman (1985) both used MLU as a measurement of bilingual children's language development, but they do not appear to have compared the child's scores in the separate languages; rather, they used utterances from both languages to calculate a single score, and did not consider any comparison.

The languages of Pakistan differ from English in having no articles, having gender endings to nouns adjectives and verbs, and using post-positions rather than pre-positions. Varma (1978) described the early stages of his daughter's acquisition of Hindi. The order of acquisition of certain grammatical forms, such as verb tenses, differed from that reported with English or German children. He found that her first use of verbs was as imperatives, but that she rapidly acquired continuous, future and past tenses.

Differences in child socialisation patterns might produce more significant differences in a child's MLU in her different languages.

Despite possible difficulties it was decided to base this preliminary study on the comparison of children's MLU in English and their MTs. Other information would arise from the recordings and interviews, that would provide a basis for the further, more detailed study. Where children frequently use utterances of more than two words in both their languages, samples of each would be recorded and MLU calculated. Dromi and Berman's criteria for crediting morphological changes would be used if appropriate.

7.4 Methods of Collecting Material

I wished to collect recordings of children's speech, and hoped that samples obtained would show the child's best abilities in each language. Children spoke English at school, so I expected their conversation with friends or teachers to be appropriate for sampling.

Obtaining samples of their best MT use could be more difficult. Children were not accustomed to using their first language at school. I did not know whether I would be succeed in encouraging them to do so. Taylor (1992) describes how a child, Victor, chose not to speak Cantonese, when attempts were made to test his MT at school. She suggests two possible reasons for this: that it was culturally inappropriate for him to speak to a stranger; alternatively (p.744) that he could not "dissociate language from locale", seeing home as the place for using MT, while English (or, in his case English and French), should be used in school. Similarly, Spooner (1991) reported that the interpreter involved in her study of bilingual children at a nursery school had trouble eliciting MT responses as the children were not accustomed to using their MT to communicate with adults in the nursery environment.

I considered observing children at home, but thought that, if they were uneasy using their MT with me at school, my presence could also affect them at home. I was reluctant to leave recording equipment in homes with other young children if I was not present myself. Nevertheless I suggested to some parents that I would like to record their children talking at home; but although not directly refusing, they showed some reluctance. Over time I could probably have built up a relationship, through my role as a home-school liaison teacher, in which parents would have agreed to this; but as I regarded this as only the initial part of my research, I did not want to delay. I decided to proceed with encouraging the children to use their MT at school. I would interview parents to confirm results and gain further information, and hoped to directly observe, although not record, children talking in their family context.

I decided to speak their MT with bilingual children, whenever possible, for several weeks before tape-recording. In my role as teacher I taught most of the children at least once a week. Sometimes this necessitated using English, when working with the whole class, which included monolingual English children; or if the class teacher did not want me to use any language other than English. Whenever I met bilingual children outside their classes I took time to talk to them in their MTs. Most soon began to respond appropriately, some only after a period where their response was giggles or a whispered "We don't talk that in school, Miss".

I decided to record children speaking their MTs before recording them speaking English. I expected that they would quite easily slip into speaking English to me at school, but if I interrupted the pattern of making MT the language of choice for our conversations, children would be less likely to choose to speak it to me. I expected to be the only available conversational partner for the children in speaking their MT. However, when I began the practical work, Nazir, a temporary classroom assistant who could speak Urdu and Punjabi was appointed to work with one class. The class teacher to whom Nazir was assigned was interested in my approach to bilingual children and allowed Nazir to work bilingually with pupils in that class. These children became accustomed to using their MT in the classroom for a few months, so I could record them conversing with Nazir.

Some of the children studied were limited to making occasional or single word utterances, which I recorded in writing. Those children with more fluent conversational skills were taped. I taped children using MT talking about their home, weekend activities, or while looking at a picture book of Pakistan. Others were encouraged to talk while involved in house play. These were considered to be topics where children would find their MT appropriate. English conversations were recorded discussing school outings, weekend activities at home, and discussing their art work.

Some recordings were made with children sitting at a table around a tape recorder. School regulations did not permit bringing in electrical apparatus from outside, so whatever recorder was available was used. Later recordings were made by children wearing a waistcoat with a dictaphone machine (Sony microcassette -corder M-550V using Olympus microcassettes) sewn into the pocket and a tie clip microphone ('Realistic' 33-1063) at the collar.

I aimed to transcribe recordings as soon as possible, to minimise errors, expecting that my memory of the context would facilitate interpreting the children's speech if it was unclear. Powney & Watts (1987) also warned of the dangers of 'correcting' children's 'errors' when transcribing their speech.

Transcription results would show children's performance on the occasions when they talked to me, but would not necessarily reflect their abilities accurately. However, discussions with teachers and parents and observing the children at home would confirm and extend the transcription results.

7.5 Selection of Subjects

In selecting pupils for this phase of the research, children attending the nursery were excluded, as a group of these would be taking part in the more detailed study to follow. At first I planned to select those children who had not been speaking (in any language) at the time of starting school. At the planning stage I discovered that the school kept no records of whether a child could speak his/her MT. The only notes kept were teachers' observations of words or expressions used in English. Children were selected for this study as follows:

1. Bilingual children in the infant and junior departments of the school; apart from:
   - Two Bengali-speaking brothers. I first intended to exclude all Bengali speakers, but three other Bengali speakers were included, as I was required to visit their families frequently, and had ample opportunity to observe the children at home as well as school. These three had very limited language use. With their families' help, I soon learned to understand and respond appropriately to their utterances.
   - Thirty six children who were not speaking at all in either language. They included profoundly and multiply

handicapped children and severely and profoundly deaf children. One child was reported by his mother to have been able to speak when about two years old, but to have subsequently lost the ability.
- Children who joined the school later than the first infants class. This included children who had arrived in this country aged 6 or more without previous exposure to English, and children who transferred to this school after one or more years at schools for children with Moderate Learning Difficulties.

2. Some children aged 11-19 from the Senior department of the school were included, who were in classes which I taught regularly. Children from two classes were excluded, as their teachers did not wish them to do any work in their MT at school. At this time there was no official policy on language use at this school; moreover the school management did not support development or maintenance of MT, *though at the time it was the local authority's policy to do so.*

In total, 20 children and young people were selected, aged from 7 years to 18 years. They are identified, in Table 7.1, by a number and name, changed from their own. Gender, age and language are shown below. 'Mirpuri' dialects are classified with 'Punjabi'. Hindko is classified separately (see Appendix 1).

7.6 Involvement of Colleagues in the Research

I had received permission to do this research both from the head of the school, and that of the support service within which I was employed.

Most of my teaching colleagues tolerated my use of the children's MTs in school. A few welcomed this approach, such as the teacher to whom Nazir, the bilingual classroom assistant, was assigned. The only other two Punjabi speaking members of staff never used the language with children as they felt it would be unacceptable to the school.

During this period, as already noted, one teacher was actively supportive, encouraging Nazir to use the children's MTs, while two teachers actively discouraged my research, indicating that they did not wish children to use their MT in school. These teachers later became more supportive of a bilingual approach, but not until this phase of the research was complete. Their change of attitude seems to have been less a positive response to my activities than a reaction against more active opposition to my ideas from newly appointed, and unpopular, senior members of staff.

The school did not at this stage have a language policy document. There was no formal policy about MT use. Towards the end of the period of my research, senior staff began producing written policy documents, in readiness for future school inspections. These included an 'English policy', rather than a 'language policy'. As with other required policies, it was not made available to the staff at large. The views of the majority of the school's senior staff made it unlikely that any written policy would be favourable to developing language skills other than in English. The view was expressed that mothers should learn English and use that in speaking to their children. Some said that by using a language other than English, families were damaging their children' prospects of benefitting fully from their education.

As pupils discovered that I was using their MT at school they were keen to use it when talking to me. A group of the oldest pupils in the school asked me to give them lessons to improve their MT skills, as they were worried about their knowledge of the language when they visited Pakistan. In some cases this visits would include marriage arrangements, and the young men were concerned to make a good impression. Unfortunately it was not possible for such lessons to be arranged.

7.7 Discussions with Parents

All parents welcomed the opportunity to talk about their child's language development. I used no formal interview schedule during these conversations. I wished to find out what parents regarded as the child's language preference, and their concerns about the child's language skills. Parents were encouraged to describe their children talking at home, and I told them how the child used language in school. This often led to discussion of ways to improve the child's skills. I visited most families several times in my role as home-school liaison teacher. On each visit, additional information was obtained. I made at least one visit to each family at a time when the child was home, so observed for myself how children interacted at home. Whereas parents confirmed my own assessment from observations at school, the language skills observed at home were often different from those heard at school. Some children were more talkative at home, but others became reluctant to speak when I visited them there. Some children who were normally talkative both at home, according to parents, and at school, by my observation, became shy and reluctant to talk when I appeared in their home. This could have created a problem had I planned to record MT in children's homes, assuming this to be the

Table 7.1 The Children Studied in Chapter 7

Name	G.	Age	Language	Name	G.	Age	Language
1. Anwar	M	7	Urdu/Punjabi	11. Johar	F	11	Punjabi
2. Bahadur	M	7	Pushto	12. Halima	F	15	Punjabi
3. Pervez	M	6	Urdu/Punjabi	13. Zakir	M	12	Pushto
4. Taj	M	7	Bengali	14. Khatoon	F	10	Pushto
5. Jehanzeb	M	9	Punjabi	15. Rashid	M	13	Punjabi
6. Khalid	M	9	Punjabi	16. Rabia	F	17	Punjabi
7. Hamid	M	9	Punjabi	17. Zulfikar	M	10	Urdu/Punjabi
8. Amina	F	10	Bengali	18. Perveen	F	10	Punjabi
9. Bushra	F	7	Bengali	19. Saleeha	F	10	Urdu
10. Diljan	M	11	Hindko	20. Shireen	F	12	Punjabi

Table 7.2 Summary of Children's Language Skills

Language Used & MLU Compared	Users	Identity (see Table 7.1)
Only English	7	No.s 1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 14
Only MT	4	No.s 9, 16, 18, 20
Higher MLU in MT than English	5	No.s 2, 5, 12, 17, 19
Higher MLU in English than MT	2	No.s 6, 15
Uncertain Preference	2	No.s 7, 13

best context. Shyness might result from family rules for child behaviour when visitors call. Brown (1973, p.73) refers to Blount, a linguist who tried to take samples of children's language and had little success as he had not realised that their tribal etiquette required "small children be silent when adults come to visit". (My own grandmother often reminded me, when guests arrived, that 'children should be seen and not heard').

7.8 Summary of Children's Language Use

These findings do not follow from any structured intervention: they are observations and recordings of children's language use, made when the children appeared to be at ease in using the appropriate language. Table 7.2 provides a summary.

7.9 Detailed Observations

7.9.1 Children speaking English only

Seven children communicated verbally only in English. Two (No.s 3 & 1) have families who address them in English, while otherwise using Urdu or Punjabi.

No.3. Pervez. Boy aged 6. Urdu/Punjabi-speaking family.

Pervez used only English in school. He was the most fluent speaker in his class, with an MLU of over 3 (recordings were not made as it was clearly unnecessary for purposes of comparison to have a precise figure). He would respond non-verbally, or sometimes replied in English, if addressed in Urdu or Punjabi. He was never heard speaking Urdu or Punjabi in school.

All his family were bilingual. Siblings sometimes spoke English when alone together, but conversation was usually in Punjabi if an adult was present. However, the family spoke to Pervez only in English. They knew that he understood Punjabi, but never encouraged him to use it and could not recall any occasion when he had done so. His family stated that Pervez could already speak some English before starting school; but this was not mentioned in the school records.

No.1. Anwar. Boy aged 7. Urdu/Punjabi-speaking family.

Anwar used only English in school. He often used language inappropriately, asking repetitive and apparently meaningless questions (e.g. "Where's ---"), and repeating a teacher's questions and comments. Family members spoke English when addressing Anwar, but Urdu or Punjabi at all other times.

Families of the remaining five 'English only' children did not habitually speak English. The children's mothers were unable to do so.

No.14. Khatoon. Girl aged 10. Pushto-speaking family.

At school Khatoon spoke with adults and fellow pupils, initiating conversations, and using sentences with a recorded maximum of 4 words. She responded appropriately to requests made in Pushto, her home language, but did not speak it. At home, her mother and grandmother could not speak English; grandfather could speak a little, but did not do so at home. Khatoon's family reported that she had never spoken Pushto at home, although she did make appropriate non-verbal responses to questions and instructions. Most children of the family used both languages; but one aunt, aged 15, living in the same house and attending a mainstream school, maintained that she was unable to speak her MT.

No.10. Diljan. Boy aged 11. Hindko-speaking family.

Diljan used English at school but at home communicated with gestures and facial expressions. At school he preferred to use gestures, but when instructed to speak would use the minimum, in length and volume, necessary to convey his message, usually whispering two or three words. English was not used in his home. His mother always responded to his non-verbal communication.

No.11. Johar. Girl aged 11. Punjabi-speaking family.

Johar spoke only English, using social expressions and some requests, sometimes in inappropriate contexts. At home she also used English but her verbal expression was ignored when I was present. Her family did not appear to expect to Johar to communicate meaningfully. They were Punjabi speakers, father understood a little English, siblings were bilingual, but were said not to use English at home.

No.4. Taj. Boy aged 7. Bengali-speaking family.
No.8. Amina. Girl aged 10. Bengali-speaking family.

Both these children used a few English social phrases, at school and at home. Taj was recorded as saying "no", "hello", "goodbye", "thank you", "fuck off", "mine". At home his parents reported him using the same English expressions and naming family members. Amina said "bye", "no", "hello", and named some family members. Family members responded appropriately to these phrases. Both mothers knew no English, fathers knew a little, but siblings were bilingual.

7.9.2 Children using only MT

No.9. Bushra. Girl aged 8. Bengali speaking family.
No.16. Rabia. Girl aged 17. Punjabi speaking

family.

At school Bushra communicated by crying, laughing and facial expressions, Rabia was silent, communicating by manual signs. Both Bushra and Rabia made simple verbal requests at home (parental report, confirmed by observation). Bushra asked for a drink ("pani" = water), for food, to go outside, for a tape to be switched on ("la" - possibly 'tala' = rhythm, used for music) and named family members. Rabia also named family members and asked for food and drink.

No.12. Halima. Girl aged 15. Urdu/Punjabi-speaking family.

Halima remained silent when English was used, but although not initiating any interaction would imitate words when addressed in her MT.

No.20. Shireen. Girl aged 12. Punjabi-speaking family.

In English Shireen's only recorded and reported vocalising was to say "No" or to imitate a single word. At home she made simple requests in Punjabi, asking for drink, food and calling family members by name. In school she responded to instructions in Punjabi, but did not speak.

7.9.3 Children using both MT & English

The remaining nine children used both languages. Two children's comparative results were uncertain. Their families reported greater proficiency in their MT than I observed in either language. However, this degree of reported proficiency occurred only with particular conversational partners and in the absence of outsiders. While there was no reason to disbelieve the families, it was not possible to confirm their descriptions by observation.

No.7. Hamid. Boy aged 9. Punjabi-speaking family.

Hamid had only recently begun to communicate verbally at school. He was observed to use some social phrases of English ("Hello", "Byebye", "Thank you") and say "yes" and "no" in school. He made appropriate physical responses but no verbal response when I spoke Punjabi at school. His father said that at home Hamid never spoke to adults, but with siblings he had been heard to use Punjabi social expressions, to call children by name and to make requests.

No.13. Zakir. Boy aged 12. Pushto-speaking family.

In school Zakir would initiate conversation in English; his longest utterance recorded was four words. In Pushto he did not initiate conversation and only made single word responses. His mother confirmed that this was his normal way of using Pushto at home, unless alone with her when she felt his language was almost like that of a normal child.

No.5. Jehanzeb. Boy aged 9. Punjabi-speaking family.

Jehanzeb was the only child observed to use a mixed form of language. With monolingual English teachers he was observed only to use single word (single morpheme) expressions. To me or Nazir he spoke mixed phrases of up to five morphemes. His recorded MLU over 50 utterances was only 1.2 as he spent a lot of time labelling objects, pointing to them and naming them with a single word. Examples follow of longer, mixed, utterances, with translation.

[e] refers to English, [p] to Punjabi:

"door band"	door [e] band [p=shut]
"bulub kharap gone"	bulub [p=lightbulb] kharap [p=broken] gone [e]
"Meri apni Mummy"	meri [p=my, with feminine marker -i] apni [p=own, with fem. marker (the feminine marker applies to the object described, not the possessor)] Mummy [e]

Jehanzeb then went with his mother on a three month visit to Pakistan. On return he no longer mixed his phrases. On the first occasion after his return when he was addressed in Punjabi he giggled for a few minutes, before agreeing to speak Punjabi. He was then using up to four morpheme phrases in Punjabi, but recorded MLU was still only 1.7 as he continued to enjoy single word labelling when he got an adult's attention. His English remained for a while at single words, but within a month he became more confident in his use of English and his length of utterance grew. Jehanzeb's English use was not recorded after his return, as I no longer taught his class, although his teacher reported that it continued developing.

No.6. Khalid. Boy aged 9. Urdu-speaking family.

Khalid spoke English at school and Urdu at home. His mother was unaware that he could speak any English as he never used it at home with her or siblings. The family said that they saw his (Urdu) language development as normal. He has been observed conversing and arguing fluently with his mother in Urdu, although recordings were not made. In school he soon adapted to speaking Urdu to me and Nazir. Khalid was aware that his two languages give him different ways of expressing an idea. He enjoyed being asked to translate. He sometimes chose to repeat a remark (either his own or someone else's) in the other language: "I'll say it in English / Urdu".

Recordings were made of Khalid conversing on one occasion with me and on another with Nazir, where Saliha (No.19) was also present. The first time, we talked about some drawing Khalid was doing. The second time, conversation was about visits to Pakistan and family, initially as a result of looking at a picture book of Pakistan. On both occasions, Khalid was reluctant to stick to one language: he switched languages several times in each conversation, usually to change topic, but utterances were not mixed. After describing, in Urdu, a recent occasion when he was unwell he broke into English to talk about a family dispute which had occurred. He described in Urdu how his sister had gone to Pakistan, then switched to English to ask "Nazir, do you like you *[sic]* house?"

His MLU in English, based on 50 utterances was 5.2 (maximum 12). In Urdu, also based on 50 utterances, MLU was 4.3 (maximum 17). These results may have been affected by the pattern of conversation with Nazir, where more short conversational interchanges took place in Urdu, but longer comments, descriptions and questions in English. Brown (1973) suggests that above an MLU of 4, MLU no longer has a clear relationship with grammatical development; so it is not possible to deduce reliably from these figures that Khalid has more advanced skills in English than in Urdu.

No.2. Bahadur. Boy aged 7. Pushto speaking.
After a number of attempts over several months to encourage Bahadur to use Pushto in school, I succeeded only in eliciting single word responses, yet his parents described more advanced development in Pushto than the English heard in school. They regarded his language use as 'like any child'. I heard Bahadur speaking at home, using utterances of up to 12 morphemes, but as soon as he saw I was present he stopped talking. At school Bahadur initiated conversation with adults and children, but the maximum length of utterance I observed was five morphemes. Bahadur had more verbal skills than other children in his class. I felt that his opportunities to learn more English were reduced by not having appropriate peer models. Classroom 'language activities' were focused on labelling pictures, requiring only single word responses. At home he played in Pushto with siblings, both older and younger, and had normal models for his language development.

No.15. Rashid. Boy aged 13. Punjabi-speaking family.
Rashid used English at school; my attempts to elicit Punjabi, through looking at pictures together, resulted only in single word responses. In school he conversed in English, with a maximum observed length of utterance of four words/morphemes. At home he used both languages. Mother spoke no English, and used Punjabi with Rashid, but believed his understanding to be limited. His father and siblings used both languages with him. If they needed a response, they were more likely to use English, as they felt he did not understand or use Punjabi adequately. His usual initial response to any question in either language was "don't know". He asked questions "where you going?", "what you doing?", "what that?". Rashid had a hearing impairment - he habitually wore hearing aids in school, but removed them at home.

No.18. Parveen. Girl aged 10. Punjabi-speaking family.
No.19. Saliha. Girl aged 10. Urdu-speaking family.
Parveen and Saliha were the only two children in school observed to play spontaneously together in MT, Urdu and Punjabi being mutually comprehensible (Appendix 1). In a sample of 50 utterances in Punjabi and another 50 in English, Parveen had MLU of 3.4 in Punjabi and 2.5 in English. Saliha had MLU of 3.8 in Urdu, 2.9 in English. Parveen liked to talk about her family in either language. She used articles in English, which do not exist in Punjabi. She used 'to' ("to town", "to park") in English, and the correct equivalent construction in Punjabi (which does not have a postposition). She used a range of verb forms in both languages, e.g. present, past, perfect, continuous and imperative forms. In English her usage included "did," "played," "talking now", "I don't know" "been out". It was not clear whether she was saying "going to town " or "go in to town."

Saliha was a shy, quiet girl, but with encouragement participated well in conversations in either language. She used more complex sentences than Parveen. e.g. "We're going to go to Pakistan", "I played outside with Safreena and Noreen". In Urdu she described how her mother says she needs new glasses, and that "meri ammi skul aengi" (my mum will come to school - "aengi" being future tense with respectful feminine ending). She used various Urdu verb tenses, reporting that when in Pakistan "apni behin ka ghar jate the" (we used to go to my own sister's house). She used future tense and present continuous ("men ja rehi" - I am going), various past and perfect forms. Occasionally she failed to modify words for gender.

No.17. Zulfikar. Boy aged 10. Urdu/Punjabi speaking family.

Zulfikar sometimes translated for other people between his three languages. He made longer and more complex sentences in Punjabi than in English or Urdu.

Based on 50 utterances in English and Punjabi (for Urdu there was insufficient data), MLU in Punjabi was 4.3 (max 25); in English 3.2 (max 13). He used more English 'loan' words than the other children, a reflection of his wider social experience as he mixes freely with other boys in his street. Examples:

[Punjabi]	"meri ammi roast benaie se" (My mum cooked a roast)
[Punjabi]	"ek saturday kuri gai se" (One Saturday a girl went)
[Urdu]	"dance kerr reha he, dinner kha reha he" (He was dancing, he was eating dinner).

In Punjabi or Urdu, Zulfikar borrowed nouns and verbs from English. (Romaine, 1989, p.64, notes that the borrowing of English verbs is an unusually strong feature of Punjabi speakers in England). When Zulfiqar spoke English, he did not introduce Punjabi vocabulary, but his sentence structure was influenced by other languages, e.g. "I went shop" (The verb 'go' in both Urdu and Punjabi includes the direction, so does not take a postposition); but he did also say "Went to London."

Zulfikar's mother could speak some English, but had limited literacy skills. The family normally used Punjabi or Urdu at home. Zulfikar had made two extended visits to Pakistan; in the most recent, from which he returned six months before I taped his language, he had attended a mainstream Pakistani school.

7.10 Discussion

While initially I expected that most children who could speak would use both languages, I found that 11 out of 20 children spoke only one language, while 9 out of 20 spoke both languages.

7.10.1 Comments on research design

I made tape recordings and calculated comparative MLU for 5 children. Eleven children used only one language, so recordings were unnecessary. Four did not converse in MT at school, although they did so at home. Recordings at school may not have provided the best examples of MT use, but this would have affected only one result, that of Khalid. In addition to samples of MT at school, more might have been recorded at home, with the people with whom the children were most talkative. However, several children's behaviour seemed to be affected by my presence in their homes; yet if I were not present, transcription would have been less reliable. Hughes, Carmichael et al (1979) noted problems in identifying the speaker if other children were present, and of mis-hearing words when unaware of the context.

Recordings were clear and I had few difficulties in identifying words. Children had sufficiently distinct voices to be sure of the identity of the speaker. As I was present during the recording, and usually listened to the tape the same evening, I do not think there was much room for error in that respect. However, I needed to listen to all recordings four times when making transcriptions, making changes on each occasion. After the second hearing, the changes were a result of having mistakenly 'corrected' children's 'errors', as predicted by Powney & Watts (1987).

7.10.2 Comments on the children

Seven children did not speak the language of their home. In two cases this was the choice of their families. The child whose family only used English at home if addressing him directly, (at other times using Urdu) was not following a normal pattern of language development. The child whose siblings talked English was making progress.

Three families had low expectations of their child's communication skills. One mother was happy for her son to communicate non-verbally. One family did not acknowledge their child's attempts to communicate when I was present, and did not mention doing so, at other times. The third family included another young woman who did not speak her MT and there seemed to be complex emotional allegiances relating to language within the household.

Two children had recently started to talk at school and their families were encouraging and responsive. It seemed likely that these children would become bilingual.

The children who did not speak at school had families who were constantly responsive to their needs. These children had not attempted to speak English at school. It is possible that they might have tried to communicate, and not been understood; or they may have been unhappy to be away from home, and not wished to communicate.

Out of eleven children speaking both languages, one had more skills in English. He had a hearing impairment and only wore his aid at school. This affected his access to conversations at home. Most of the other children were using their weaker language in school, thus limiting their access to learning and potential cognitive development. This result is somewhat different from that of Roberts & Gibbs (1989), who found a "fairly large" group having more skills in English than MT. This may be a result of the different levels of structured language teaching provided, Roberts & Gibbs (1989 p.174) describing their children as having received "several years" of "structured imtervention and language support" in English.

None of the children mixed Punjabi words with their English. One child mixed English when speaking Punjabi, but only used single words with English speakers. Following a visit to Pakistan, his Punjabi improved, as did his English after a few months. Thus, none of these children, in spite of their learning difficulties, had problems separating their languages (Section 3.4.1). Several demonstrated other metalinguistic skills, such as translation skills.

While most Urdu and Punjabi speakers were willing to use their mother tongue at school, all three Pushto speakers were reluctant to use Pushto in school. A possible reason might be that, while Urdu/Punjabi speakers hear their language spoken in various situations (shops, buses, by parents of other pupils), Pushto speakers hear the language only in the context of their own (extended) family. They might see it as a private code, not used outside the family. Another possibility is that my own Pushto was less acceptable to the children than my Urdu to the Urdu/Punjabi speakers; but this did not seem likely as I had lived and worked in Pakistan in a predominantly Pushto- speaking area and was more familiar with the dialects of the Pushto speaking children's families than with the languages/dialect of the Mirpur district.

The absence of suitable role models amongst the other pupils appeared to be delaying some pupils' acquisition of English skills. Bahadur was the most fluent speaker in his class, but his English was much less fluent than his Pushto, which he used in play with his brothers. Low teacher expectations and lack of peer support appeared to set a ceiling on children's English skills, while their MT skills could not be used in school.

In working with Bengali speaking children I found that I was able to learn, from discussion with parents, how to understand and respond to the children's communication. Although I did not have sufficient knowledge of the language to then expand the children's expressions, this was an indication of how monolingual teachers would be able, without much difficulty, to learn to respond to their pupils use of their MT.

Following this study I wished to make a closer examination of the processes of language acquisition, finding out more about language use at the children's homes as well as observing their opportunities to talk at school.

Chapter 8. BILINGUAL INTERVENTION WITH A GROUP OF NURSERY/INFANT CHILDREN

The second phase of my research involved studying ten children over a period of two years, observing the processes of language acquisition both at school and at home and exploring ways of providing support.

8.1 Selection of Children

Children attended the Nursery Department of the SLD school between the ages of two and five. Some moved into Infant Classes before their fifth birthday, others later. I selected children who, at the commencement of the study period, were in a Nursery class. They were all Muslims, whose families were of Pakistani origin, and whose MT I could speak, i.e. Urdu, Pushto, Hindko, Punjabi, and 'Mirpuri' MTs. The children selected were all independently mobile. One had difficulty walking but could move about independently on the floor. None of the children had been identified as having Profound or Multiple Learning Difficulties. I expected that over the following two years I would teach these children for at least one lesson weekly, and have the opportunity to develop work in partnership with their parents.

8.2 Overview of Work at the School

Previously all teaching in the school had been conducted in English. I planned to use children's MT whenever possible, and to develop strategies to enable and encourage bilingual ancillary workers, volunteers and students in supporting MT development. Soon after I began this phase, some of the children I had selected were moved, some into infant classes and others to different nursery classes. As the school admitted new children throughout the year, existing pupils were moved around to balance class sizes. Possible negative effects on children of joining an already established class group (Hughes, Pinkerton & Plewis, 1979) were ignored.

8.2.1 Language teaching

During the period of my research a curriculum was introduced directly relating teaching goals to National Curriculum Statements of Attainment. A separate Early Years curriculum document was produced, when my research was almost complete. This was a check-list based on a general developmental scale and had 14 points in 'expressive language' (from "cries" , babbles, imitates sounds, "first real word", expresses wants, uses "naming words", "uses two word phrases", "uses three word phrases".) Teachers scored only English usage on this check-list.

In practice, planned 'language' activities largely consisted of labelling activities, where children were shown pictures and were asked "What's this?". If a child did not reply the teacher would say the required word, hoping that the child would imitate. Some teachers taught 'Makaton' signs (Walker, 1987) in the same way. Children sat to listen to stories, and there were several sessions each day of singing action songs. Adult interactions at other times were largely directive, particularly during play sessions where children were directed to activities such as 'bathing dolly', and required to imitate actions with no relation to their experience outside school.

Three of my selected children were taught for a year by a qualified teacher of hearing impaired children. She used 'Total Communication', signing and speaking English concurrently, although there were no children with severe hearing impairments in the class. She was the only teacher who maintained a definite practice of using a great deal of language while teaching. Yet most of her attempts to elicit language from children focused on labelling. None of the other teachers had any specific training in teaching communication skills. Several had no training for any type of special education.

The nursery regularly had students, usually studying for qualifications in nursery nursing, many of whom were bilingual Punjabi speakers. Pupils from mainstream secondary schools also had regular work-experience placements and these too were mostly bilingual from the same communities as the special school pupils. A bilingual classroom assistant was transferred from a senior class to the nursery shortly after I began the research. None of these students, volunteers or assistants had previously been encouraged to use their language skills in developing children's MTs in school.

Initially I assumed that my experience and research would be welcomed in the school and that it could lead to positive developments in policies and practice. This was over-optimistic. Cohen & Manion (1989, p.230) write of the resistance from headteachers and other teachers, both to collaborating with research and changing their practice. Hutchinson & Whitehouse (1986) argue that action research can seem threatening in that it appears to question the competence of teachers and management. It is also 'subversive', challenging teacher assumptions and showing their practices to be cultural constructions. I was challenging teachers' personal beliefs about bilingualism, as well as their professional competence. However, what I was doing was in fact the professional work that I was employed to do as part of the Section 11 home-school liaison team, rather than some sort of personal campaign. The service provided was one to which the children were legally entitled, and MT support was endorsed by the local education authority. This gave some 'moral framework' to my activities.

8.3 Observation and Work with Children

My timetable was changed frequently, but during the first year I had some time each week with each of the ten children. I worked with individuals and small groups using children's MTs, focusing on house-play and simple routines. Sometimes I was required to take responsibility for a whole class or to include monolingual English speaking children as part of a group, at which times I worked in English. In the second year my timetable did not include all the children. Some class teachers were enthusiastic about my MT work and tried when possible to enable me to work with small groups. I looked for opportunities to interact with other children outside lesson time. These factors meant that I did not work with a consistent group of children; some had more regular support than others. My intervention, and children's progress and development of spoken language are thus reported as a series of individual longitudinal case studies.

When working with the children, I recorded their language and communication. At first I kept notes, but later, as some of the children started to talk I made recordings using a microcassette recorder with microphone (Sony microcassette-corder m550-V, 'Realistic' 33-1063 microphone and Olympus microcassettes), attached to a waistcoat worn by the child. Unfortunately, as the switch was not concealed, children sometimes switched off the microphone, losing some samples.

Several children were more vocal on occasions when they were playing without much adult direction; the house-play area was particularly stimulating. Sometimes I was able to follow one or two children in the house-play area, describing what they were doing, and they would start repeating my words or, later, talking. However, a classroom assistant was often sent to work with me. Despite my repeated requests, the assistants who worked with me were always monolingual, and changed from week to week. They worked in a highly directive, controlling way with the children, which limited opportunities for the children to speak or initiate activities. As the children grew older, they were moved to classes which did not have access to a house-play area.

I discussed my observations with teachers, ancillary staff and parents, in order to exchange information about each child's progress. With the older group of children in the first phase, I had taken MLU as a measure of language development. For the present younger group, MLU alone would not be an appropriate measure: at the start of this phase no children were talking. I expected that over a two year period some would develop as far as using sentences with several words, but there would be a long period where they used only single word expressions. Price (1989, p.199) and Snow & Pan (1993) suggested that a single measure does not adequately measure children's progress, so several features of language should be observed. I therefore decided to note a broader range of linguistic features: functional use of language, from Halliday's (1975) list of the first functions used by his son as described in Section 2.2.2; vocabulary development; frequency of communication, and situations in which the child was more likely to communicate.

8.4 Overview of Work with Mothers: Initial Interviews

In visiting homes I first wished to obtain a picture of the child's communication skills when at home, the family's pattern of interaction with her, and the mother's perceptions of children's language needs. I decided to use The Pragmatics Profile of Early Communication Skills (Dewart & Summers, 1989), an interview schedule asking open-ended questions about children's communication skills, as a basis for the initial interview with mothers. This would provide information about the child's communicative and interactive behaviour and give indications about the mother's style of interaction with her child. The Profile and mothers' responses, abbreviated in some cases, appear in Appendix 7. Although these were initial interviews in this research study, I had already met all the mothers, some on several occasions.

No standardised translation of the Pragmatics Profile was attempted. Mishler (1986) suggests that it is more important to use a flexible approach to achieving mutual understanding than to use standardised questions; and that, even when the interviewer attempts to follow precise wordings, between 25% and 50% of questions depart significantly from the scheduled wording. There are significant differences between written Urdu and spoken forms used by the parents. A standard written translation would have made the interaction over-formal.

The Pragmatics Profile provides a detailed

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schedule, with open-ended questions: it is structured, but the introduction indicates that it should be conducted informally. Questions encourage the parents to provide examples of their child's behaviour, and prompts are suggested when examples are not forthcoming. In giving examples, parents are likely to adopt a narrative style. Mishler suggests a respondent is 'empowered' by an open-ended interview style that permits narrative or story telling responses. In narrative they relive and reinterpret their experiences. The discussion is contextually grounded, giving a basis for the respondent/narrator to be active in negotiating a shared understanding of the issues.

Introducing the Profile, Dewart & Summers suggest that the emphasis on relating concrete events makes it unlikely that parents will 'fake' their child's responses. Unlike more directive questions, there was little room for interviewer bias. As interviewer I encouraged parents to respond, but gave no sign of what a child 'should' be doing. Dewart & Summers suggest that if parents cannot answer a question it may indicate that they are not noticing the child's behaviour and their interaction with the child may be minimal. Alternatively, I might have failed to express the question in a way meaningful to parents; the question might be inappropriate to the parents' cultural framework; or my own cultural framework might have caused me to misunderstand. For example, several parents made no response that I found meaningful, to questions about 'conversation' with their non-verbal child. I may have expressed the question badly; or perhaps it was culturally inappropriate for these adults to have 'conversational' interactions with a non-verbal child (see Section 5.7); or parents might appropriately do so, but would not interpret such interaction in the terms I used; or I may have misunderstood parents' responses.

Powney & Watts (1987, p.140) refer to parents of children with severe learning difficulties becoming emotionally upset while being interviewed regarding their child's education. While this was a possibility, I believed that they would recognise that the purpose of the interview was to explore avenues for helping their child and have a positive interest in taking part, even if they experienced some distress. The fact of being able, as part of my job, to have a continuing relationship with parents facilitated this process, as compared with an academic researcher who would have no other involvement.

It took between thirty and a hundred minutes to complete the Pragmatics Profile, depending on the level of parental detail in describing incidents. During this time I tried to demonstrate my interest and encourage mothers in describing their child's behaviour.

Confidentiality. Copies of the Pragmatics Profile responses were placed in the children's files in school. Parents knew that the notes would be used by the school, as part of the child's records. They were also told about the research aims of the interview, and their consent requested. Only one parent expressed any hesitation: he consented when assured that his child would not be identified in any material that went outside the school.

8.5 Ongoing Action with Mothers

Further visits were made to mothers as the opportunities arose and we discussed possible action with their children according to their own expressed interest. I did not try to provide an equal level of support to all families. Parents differed in their expressed wishes for information and in their willingness to participate in teaching their child. Several parents requested further information about language development, some more interactive parents were interested in ongoing opportunities for discussion. I also prioritised visits to those mothers who had more difficulties in describing interaction with the children.

My aim in working with parents was to provide them with information and support. I encouraged mothers to talk to me about their child. I provided no structured, directive programme, but encouraged talking to the child about what he is doing, and developing turn-taking conversational skills. I recognised that encouraging parents to develop conversational skills with their children might not be consistent with the model of parent-child interaction followed by some of these families. However these skills are part of the Indo-Pakistani 'middle-class ideal' model of parent child interaction described in Section 5.9.1.

8.5.1 Information available for mothers

Written material was selected, to give when appropriate to mothers who had literacy skills. For mothers who could read English, I planned to give selected reading from Let's Talk by McConkey & Price (1986). Those who could read Urdu would receive material from a book I wrote for use by teachers and parents in Pakistan (Miles, 1986 and revision 1991). However I expected that the majority of mothers would not have literacy skills. This does not reflect on their ability, but on social expectations and the availability of schooling in Pakistan during the past 20 years.

I anticipated that some of the ten mothers would have little verbal interaction with their children for the following reasons:

1. *The nature of the child's disabilities.* As noted in Chapter 2, some studies of parent-child interactions, in English speaking majority-ethnicity families of Britain, USA, Canada and Australia, suggest that parents of children with learning difficulties may be more directive and less responsive than parents of normally functioning children. Srivastava et al (1978) found similar results in India and, my experiences in Pakistan suggested that some families there vary their patterns of interaction on account of their child's perceived disability.
2. *Cultural factors.* Many of the mothers under study grew up in rural extended families where the mother's role was to care for the material needs of the family, while play and stimulating interaction took place with grandparents, aunts, and especially with other children of the family (see Chapter 5). In the different family and home situation in Britain, the other adult relatives may be absent, or may be reluctant to occupy themselves with a child who is handicapped, while children also have a longer school day.
3. *Perceiving their culture and language as having no value.* This might result in mothers not transmitting their culture, including language, where they believe the child needs to learn English (Piper, 1987)

8.6 Action & Results

Children are identified by a name, changed from their own, and a code.
They are by gender, B=boy, G=girl, and by number 1-10 in order of age within the group under study, G1 being the oldest, B10 the youngest. Hence B5 is a boy, 5th in order of age within the group. Children's age is shown across the two year study period, e.g. Age 5->7.

G1. Hameeda. Age 5->7. Hindko-speaking mother.

Hameeda's mother came from a small, traditional town in Pakistan, spoke no English and had no literacy skills. Hameeda had a brother and sister aged 12 and 16. Mother kept strict purdah, rarely leaving the house, and then only if accompanied and wearing a full length black 'burqa' covering her face and body. When I began the study, Hameeda, mother and siblings had been less than a year in England. Hameeda had been in school for four months.

Mother found it hard to talk about Hameeda's communication skills. She was distressed and tearful about her 'misfortune' in having produced 'such a child'. She reported that Hameeda "can't do anything - but one good thing, she does not fight". The only verbal activity mother reported was that Hameeda would sometimes called her "Ammi" [mummy] and had been heard to say "kutta" [dog]. Other communication consisted of crying, lifting arms to be picked up, pushing unwanted food away and waving 'bye-bye' after prompting. Beyond this, Hameeda did not respond to people or objects, did not laugh or express happiness in any way. When I saw her at home, she sat immobile and expressionless. Mother said she did not talk to Hameeda, thinking her unable to understand anything because of her 'mental weakness'. Mother did not see playing with Hameeda as part of her role - "that is for other children to do".

Hameeda first spoke in school when helping me to push a child in a wheelchair down the corridor. I was saying "beep-beep", and Hameeda joined in. Later the same afternoon she waved, smiled and said "bye-bye". Over the next few months Hameeda became increasingly talkative in school, during the times I worked with her, in the context of MT house play and exploration. She was not talking to other teachers. She named toys. After a couple of months she was using "kaka", "Baby" and "Dolly" interchangeably for doll - she eventually favoured "Baby", which she used both at school and home. She gave instructions "Boot pen" [put on the shoe], telling me to put on doll's shoe; "Cha pi" [drink tea] addressed to me or to doll; "so" [go to sleep]; "ye le" [take this]. She directed attention, "o, ute le" [take that up there], and commented on her play, "shsh, baby so gia" [shsh, baby's gone to sleep]. She would go in cupboards and boxes, finding and naming objects "patta" [leaf], "topi" [hat] "chamach" [spoon], "battakh" [duck]. During this period, mother reported no change at home and continued to be distressed when discussing Hameeda.

In December 1990, I made a video of Hameeda playing and talking at school. There was less speech included than normally occurred in sessions with Hameeda, as I could not both control the camera and support conversation. This video was then shown to Hameeda's mother at home. Mother, who had never heard her daughter speak or seen her play, was amazed. She sat on the edge of her seat, exclaiming (in Hindko) "Look, look what she's doing now! She's speaking! Listen to that, my Hameeda's talking!" After this viewing, mother asked for a copy of the video and agreed to encourage Hameeda to be more active at home. Before this, Hameeda's mother had always cried whenever we talked about Hameeda. She did not cry again during my visits, in the period of this study. Hameeda's father, who was always at work during my home visits, showed his interest in the developments by coming to school and thanking me for the video, which his wife had shown him.

Before her mother saw the video, Hameeda had not usually taken an active part in school activities on Mondays and on the first day back after a day at home. After mother saw the video, this changed. The Special Schools Assistant who worked with Hameeda's class asked me what had happened at home, as Hameeda was so "different" after the Christmas holidays. She was much more talkative, active and sometimes naughty, with the usual staff working with her class. She continued to 'freeze' if someone less familiar came into the room, including the physiotherapist who had worked with her since she started school. She would sometimes remain passive for the rest of the day, after being surprised by a visitor.

Hameeda started joining in class language activities, which consisted of labelling pictures or objects, using English and 'Makaton' signs. The only English words she used spontaneously were 'dolly', 'baby', 'bye' and 'apple'. She addressed other children by name e.g. "Najma, de" [give, Najma] when Najma had taken something from her. Hameeda chatted to herself while at play: washing up, she would tell herself there was "pani" [water] and say "dhoye" [washed]. She asked "e ki eh?" [what's that?]. To me she would say "baten" [talking], instructing me to talk to her.

After seeing the video, her mother was interested to hear about helping Hameeda to talk. She reported that Hameeda now talked with other children. Mother also talked to her, and developed her conversation skills. However, after a year Hameeda started to collapse frequently, spent much of her days asleep and developed mobility problems. She did not respond to anticonvulsant treatment, and eventually a rare type of leucodystrophy was diagnosed. Her skills were expected to deteriorate and her life expectancy to be limited, though a time-span could not be predicted. Hameeda's mother continued to talk and interact with her at home, so that when she again became uncommunicative at school, she continued talking to mother at home.

G2. Najma. Age 5->7 years. Punjabi-speaking mother.

Najma's family came from a rural area near Mirpur. Her mother spoke no English, and had no literacy skills. Najma was the fourth child of seven at the start of the study; an eighth child was born a few months later. She had attended the special school nursery for two years, and had learnt some 'Makaton' signs. She did not talk, but laughed a lot.

When Najma's mother was interviewed using the Pragmatics Profile, a baby and Najma's father were present, both of whom made frequent demands on mother's attention. Father complained about Najma's unwillingness to obey. He was watching a video, but repeatedly interrupted my discussion with mother to demand that she get him tea, then biscuits, then rearrange his pillow.

Mother reported that Najma was able to communicate her wishes by sign and gesture. She tugged at her mother to gain attention, pointed at what interested her and used the sign for 'biscuit' whenever she wanted any food. She would shake hands and wave 'bye-bye' and clap hands to indicate pleasure. Mother did not expect Najma to respond to any requests or instructions, other than "Go to the bus" when the school transport arrived. Mother did not attempt any conversation - no opportunity arose for development of conversational skills. Mother indicated that she did not see her role as playing with or talking to Najma. Najma should play with her siblings. There were no toys available for the children, and Mother thought that Najma would break any if they were provided. Mother said that Najma sometimes obeyed her father, but no-one else. She said that when she tried to show Najma any affection Najma would pinch her - so she no longer tried to be affectionate.

In school Najma rarely made any vocalisations, other than laughter, but was acquiring 'Makaton' signs labelling objects and pictures. Gradually she started to produce a sound at the same time as the sign, usually just a vowel sound, but she sometimes said "look". She sometimes shouted to gain attention. She waved 'bye-bye' and asked for food, usually by signing 'please'. She learned the signs for fruit. She played in the house corner and with dolls, except for two months following the birth of a new baby brother, when Najma would hit and throw any doll that she was invited to play with. Najma would indicate, by gesture and mime, things that had occurred in the classroom earlier in the day, such as a child being naughty, or something being broken. Her responses were the same whether I spoke to her in Punjabi or English.

Najma's parents were shown a video of Najma playing in school. They showed little interest in it, nor in suggestions of ways to help improve Najma's communication skills at home, or that they learn some 'Makaton' signs. Mother was preoccupied with the latest baby, both before his birth and for the following year. Although they complained that Najma would not obey them, the parents said that they did not want advice about behavioural management.

At school Najma began using signs to ask questions, signing 'dinner' to ask if it was dinner time yet, or 'bus' to know if she was going for an outing. After a year with a teacher who constantly used manual signs, Najma was moved to a teacher who used and recognised none. Her signed communication was reduced. She was still able to indicate her wishes, and enjoyed sharing activities with adults in school. During the two year period of the study Najma's desire for interaction and frequency of initiating interactions increased, particularly when I was present as an additional member of staff. Her attempts to gain attention were often regarded as disruptive and were discouraged by some other staff.

G3. Tasleem. Age 5->7 years. Pushto-speaking mother.

Tasleem was the youngest of five children, the only daughter. She had attended school for a year before this study began. After a few months of the study, Tasleem was found to have a mild hearing loss. After the insertion of grommets she was thought to be hearing adequately. The family came from a village in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. Mother spoke no English and had no literacy skills. She went out of the house freely, taking Tasleem with her.

Mother gave detailed answers, particularly to the first two sections of the Pragmatics Profile, Communicative Intentions and Response to Communication. She gave shorter responses to the later sections. Mother reported that much of Tasleem's communication was by gesture, or using 'her own made-up words', which she used consistently, and which the family used when speaking to her. For water, she asked for "bibi" [Pushto is 'oboh']; for scrambled egg, "wawa"; to be picked up, "bao". She called her mother "Abey". Mother felt she communicated with Tasleem in much the same way as she had done with her sons when they were younger. She did not play with Tasleem, and saw no need for this. She said that Tasleem could play with her brothers.

In school, Tasleem began imitating the words she heard, and learnt a few 'Makaton' signs. She was then moved to a class where the teacher always signed while speaking. For a while Tasleem stopped imitating spoken words and concentrated on trying to imitate the teacher's hand movements. At this time the only word she used spontaneously in school was 'bye'. I worked with her in Pushto, for about half an hour fortnightly, in a play situation. She would reply "aw" [yes], and sometimes say "no". Otherwise she made no attempt to speak Pushto. Tasleem played with toys imaginatively. Once she turned a Fisher-Price garage into a 'sewing machine', using as the 'handle' a lever meant for controlling a lift. Her teacher came to take it away, as it was 'not an appropriate toy' for house play. I managed to explain what Tasleem was doing, just in time.

After a year Tasleem began to recite English nursery rhymes. She spoke these quite clearly, so her idiosyncratic vocabulary, which persisted at home, could not be explained by her hearing loss. She used signs to request the toilet. She began to interact with other children in school, at first requesting or demanding toys from them, later with more cooperative and affectionate interactions. She gave instructions "come here", "look". She would call other children and adults. She would ask questions, e.g. naming a child who was absent, to ask where they were.

By the end of the study, Tasleem was using words from both languages at home, but more Pushto. She called a car "peep-peep", asked for "apples" and said "hello" in English. She still used her own words, e.g. "bibi" for water. When speaking to Tasleem, Mother used Tasleem's vocabulary, including her own made-up words, and English words. Parents always spoke Pushto at other times, but her brothers spoke both Pushto and English in the house.

Tasleem chose to conceal some of her skills from her parents. She had been eating independently at school at the start of the study period, and by the end could dress herself completely. Yet at home she was still dressed and fed by her mother. On one occasion I visited the home while mother was feeding Tasleem. She left the food on the table to bring me a cup of tea. Tasleem looked at me, put her finger to her lips and said "sh", helped herself to a couple of spoonsful and put her hands back in her lap before mother returned. Her mother had been told that Tasleem could do these things for herself at school, but accepted that Tasleem liked to have these things done for her at home. Like the older Pushto speaking children studied (Chapter 7), Tasleem did not speak Pushto in school.

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B4. Amir. Age 4->6. Punjabi-speaking mother.

Amir is the eldest child in his family. At the start of the study he had two younger sisters, and a baby brother was born at its close. Amir had attended school for a year before the study began. He lived with his parents, paternal grandparents, aunts and uncles. Mother came to England for marriage, from a rural part of Mirpur, a year before Amir's birth. She knew no-one other than her inlaws. She rarely went out, her inlaws requiring her to stay in to do housework. She had no English or literacy skills. I was able to go through the Pragmatics Profile with mother alone. On other visits, if mother-in-law or sister-in-law came in, they tried to take over the conversation.

Mother reported that Amir directs attention by pulling. She could not recall him making requests. If a visitor arrived whom he liked he would pat the sofa, encouraging them to sit down. He would spontaneously blow kisses to the baby. When asked how Amir responds when she talks to him, mother replied that she did not speak to him because she knew no English. Her inlaws sometimes spoke to Amir because they knew some English; otherwise he was put to watch the television. When asked "On what occasions do you feel that you and Amir communicate well?", mother said that she did not try to communicate with him. She had been advised that, as he 'must' learn English in school, she should not speak Punjabi to him, and she knew no English. She could not recall who had told her this, but I discovered that it was the view of her inlaws; also that this advice is regularly dispensed to parents by professionals, including teachers. I tried to reassure her that she should feel free to talk to her son, that it would do him no harm. She seemed afraid of her inlaws, obviously hoping to avoid confrontation with them. The inlaws, particularly Amir's aunt, cheerfully dismissed my attempts to discuss the issue, as there was "no need for her to talk to him, because we are here."

In school Amir made very slow progress. As at home, he would pat the chair to encourage someone to sit near him. He would occasionally touch an adult on the shoulder. Sometimes he would laugh and follow me about. He liked tickling physical play, but was timid with other more active children. If happy he would make some babbling noises. He clapped hands to show pleasure, and pointed to indicate something of interest. He liked pointing to pictures in books for them to be named, but made no attempt to imitate the words. He started to say "bye" as well as waving goodbye. He began to say "hello" as a greeting and when another child tried to take something from him he several times was heard to say "no". He sometimes said "chch" as a means of gaining or directing attention.

Visiting the mother, I tried to boost her self-esteem and encourage her to communicate with Amir. I called often as she seemed in need of emotional support. She knew nobody in England but her inlaws. They were often out when I called, but if they came in they tried to send mother out or to exclude her from the conversation, by using as much English as mother-in-law's limited knowledge would permit. Amir's mother started to cry on one such occasion when her inlaws arrived in the middle of a conversation, so I explained to them that I had come to talk to Amir's mother and did not wish to talk to them. The inlaws said that Amir's mother knew nothing, she had never been to school; she could not go shopping; she was only able to do menial tasks for them, and I should not waste my time talking to her.

In the last few months of the study, Amir's parents moved into a home of their own. A few weeks after moving, another baby was born and so mother had little time to give to Amir. The new baby was also severely developmentally delayed. The family then took Amir and his brother to Pakistan for treatment at religious shrines. There the children had severe gastro-enteritis, so they quickly returned to England. Their father decided to stay in Pakistan, so mother and children returned to live with their inlaws.

B5. Ehjaz. Age 4->6. Punjabi/Urdu-speaking mother.

Ehjaz has one younger sister. His mother, from a Pakistani city, is literate in Urdu. She came to England on her marriage, a year before Ehjaz was born. She speaks a little English, but cannot converse fluently. Ehjaz started school two weeks before this study began.

After the initial interview, Mother was keen to help develop Ehjaz's abilities. She described his communication skills in detail, talking of his initiation of 'conversation', his response and anticipation to games etc. She showed that she spent time with him, talked to him and played with him. She said Ehjaz consistently used three words, "ammi" [mummy] "Abu" [daddy] and "do" [give], to greet or call his parents and to ask for something. I gave Ehjaz's mother some information material in Urdu.

At first Ehjaz appeared to make progress. When I was speaking Urdu to him at school he would say "do" [give] to ask for an object. He enjoyed playing hiding and chasing games, and would respond if I called his name, by saying 'ammi' [mummy]. Once when I took him out of the classroom to play, on returning he clearly said "na" [no] and started to run the other way. Other staff were not aware of him attempting to communicate verbally with them.

Three months after this study began, Ehjaz began having severe epileptic fits. His sleep pattern was disturbed. He became withdrawn, refused to take part in activities at school, spent time sitting twiddling string or staring blankly. After this the only development in school of Ehjaz's communication / language skills was that he would sometimes, when sitting alone, start singing a familiar nursery song, especially the 'bye-bye' song used at the end of the afternoon. Within six months his father lost his job. He blamed this on loss of sleep because Ehjaz's disturbed sleeping patterns had affected his work, and he had taken too much time off to take Ehjaz to hospital. The parents felt Ehjaz was making no progress, despite their efforts. Their focus changed from enthusiastic welcome of ideas of activities to help Ehjaz to learn. Instead they planned a pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, seeking a cure at shrines. The pilgrimage was not made until after the end of this study.

At the end of the study period, Ehjaz rarely communicated in school. He would still say "do" to me if I had something he wanted. Mother reported that he would now say "no" for refusal, and called his sister and some other family members by name.

B6. Ayub. Age 4->6. Punjabi-speaking mother.
Ayub was the youngest of seven children. His mother came from a Mirpuri village. She knew no English and had no literacy skills. Ayub had attended school for one year before this study commenced.

His mother talked enthusiastically about Ayub's attempts to communicate and his responses to her. She did not answer the Pragmatics Profile questions on Interaction and Conversation, or describe taking part in any play activities. The only words that Ayub spoke were names of family members, but mother felt he was able to communicate all his needs, and that he showed that he understood much that was said to him. He used a standard sign for 'drink', and made sounds such as "eheh" for attention, "ohoh" when he wanted a particular object.

At school Ayub did not use words. He laughed a lot and enjoyed 'silly' behaviour. He laughed if another child was being told off. He could not feed himself - he would turn over his own or another child's plate if not closely supervised, finding this a great joke. When I spoke to him in Punjabi he responded by coming to sit beside me and giggling, but did not speak.

At first his mother felt that communication was not really a problem for Ayub. She talked to him and was very affectionate. His older siblings played with him. She was happy for me to visit and talk about Ayub, but felt no need to change her pattern of behaviour towards him. After a year the family made a six month visit to Pakistan. By the end of the study period, mother was beginning to worry that Ayub was making no progress. Apart from naming more members of his family he was saying no more. He was getting bigger and more inclined to struggle with his mother and pull her hair. He had learnt to gain attention at home by inappropriate behaviour (throwing things, pulling hair).

G7. Jamila. Age 4->6. Punjabi-speaking mother.
Jamila was the youngest of four sisters. She attended the nursery for a year before this study began. Her mother came to England at the age of 13, from a Punjabi village, and had three years in school in England but no previous formal education. She learnt some English at school but does not speak it easily. Jamila's father spends more than half his time in Pakistan. Mother has support from her parents and other family members.

Mother said that Jamila was most communicative when playing with her sisters. When playing together her sisters spoke English. Mother said it was more appropriate for Jamila to talk with her sisters, both because it was right for children to talk and play together, rather than with an adult, and because Jamila needed to learn English rather than Punjabi. She said she did not know enough English to talk much to Jamila. She reported that Jamila said "up" when she wanted to be lifted up, and "bye" as a farewell. Mother said Jamila was shy and hid her face if visitors came to the house.

At school Jamila's first verbal activity was reciting songs and nursery rhymes to dolls. Sitting on the floor, she swung a doll back and forth saying "See-saw Margery Daw, Johnny shall have a new master." She sang songs either to dolls or when alone, but not in a group with other children. After three months, the following utterances were recorded in a half hour session:

"(l)ook"	(showing a picture book)
"aman"	(addressing a pupil called Jaman)

"dink"	(giving a drink to a doll)
"hello"	(playing with toy telephone)
"bye"	(waving)
"yes"	
"that's it"	

She began to shout "oi" whenever she wanted attention. She addressed other children by name, and indicated disapproval "bad Ayub", "no, naughty". She gave instructions to other children: "sit down", "go away", "come on", "come here", "stop", "look". She spoke to herself while playing with dolls e.g. "brush hair". She named objects, body parts "head", "foot", and later "Ayub shoe" (pointing to the shoe which Ayub had taken off). She labelled pictures "baby", "dancing", "playing".

When playing alone Jamila chatted almost continuously to herself, sometimes addressing other children. Allowed to wander about the hall with a tape-recorder attached during a games session, she spoke constantly. "Khatija, o Khatija, oy, what's that, hello ha, oy, ahahah, alright, Ayube, oi, John Brown, come here, aaaya, look, bad, come on, come on, John Brown, come here, come here." I thought her use of the Punjabi vocative ('Ayube') significant until I discovered that the English nursery nurse working with Jamila's class used this form since hearing Ayub's mother talking to him. Jamila talked to adults in the same way as to other children, gaining attention by shouting "oi", or "look"; but she preferred talking to children.

Throughout this time Jamila responded to simple instructions in Punjabi/Urdu "come here", "sit down", "wash your hands", but she did not speak in Punjabi either at home or at school. She was not heard or reported to take part in a turn-taking conversation, she did not respond verbally to anything said to her, nor acknowledged verbal responses to what she said.

G8. Khatija. Age 4->6. Punjabi/Mirpuri-speaking mother.

Khatija was registered to attend the nursery for six months before the study began, but her attendance was poor. Khatija's mother came to England, on her marriage, from a rural area of Mirpur district. She had no English or literacy skills. When the study began, Khatija lived with her parents, four full siblings and father's first wife with her children in one house. Khatija was her mother's third child. After a year, Khatija's mother moved to a second house. Her eldest brother, Jehanzeb, also attended a special school.

It was not possible to interview mother alone. If alone in the house she did not answer the door, and if father or his senior wife were present, mother retired to the kitchen to continue housework while they talked to me. Eventually I visited when the co-wife was out, and requested that Khatija's mother answer the Pragmatics Profile questions. However father did not want me to speak to her alone, saying that she was just a village woman who would not be able to answer my questions. Father answered my questions but I turned to mother for confirmation. She did not add to the information father gave.

Father described Khatija as communicating by pulling, crying and pointing. She clapped hands if pleased, but never laughed. Father seemed to disapprove of laughter. The only word he recalled her using was "kutta" [dog]. Her parents did not appear to be encouraging any independence skills. When asked what Khatija would do on being asked to fetch something, father said she would run to her mother, because mother would do it for her. Parents did not take part in any play activities. Father said she played with the other children, especially Jehanzeb. She made few sounds. Father said that he wanted her to be obedient, rather than independent. Until her fifth birthday she was often kept home from school because she was "weak". At home she would cling to her mother and cry when I visited, even though at school whenever she saw me she would run to me, smiling, and take my hand.

At school she responded enthusiastically when I talked to her in Urdu/Punjabi, often laughing. At this stage she did not use words, but a range of vowel sounds ("o" for 'look at this'; "e" for 'come here'). She learned some 'Makaton' signs - and spontaneously used the sign 'bad' for anything she did not like, or to the other children. After eight months Khatija uttered her first words in school. They were, in English, "car," "bus," and "apple", spoken spontaneously while looking at a picture book. A few weeks later Khatija had a fight with Nergis, who also spoke Punjabi, and said to her "gunda" [dirty, bad], "kutta" [dog], and turned to shout "abu" [Daddy]. When her father had reported Khatija's only word as "kutta", I had taken it in the sense of an English child saying 'doggie'. The use observed in the fight was as a rather strong insult.

From this time, Khatija started to talk at school. She called other children and staff of her class by name. She named objects in English, and, when with me, in Punjabi. She asked the names of objects and asked for things she wanted. She did not then play with dolls, but liked to hold and look at them. She participated but did not lead in house-play: she would get into bed and be the 'child', she liked to be 'fed', but she did not herself get out any toys and start directing their use until towards the end of the two year study. She would play at making animal sounds, or hiding and jumping out with a 'boo' if this was initiated by the teacher. She initiated play of this type once when I was present. She fought vigorously if another child took something from her. While fighting she used insults and swearwords in both Punjabi and English. Khatija's communication skills developed using both her languages, but she became more actively communicative in Punjabi. After the end of the formal study, her teacher commented on how Khatija "sparkled" when there was a Punjabi speaker present with whom she could talk.

After a year of the study Khatija's mother moved into a separate house from her co-wife. Father usually spent his days at Khatija's home, but if he was out mother would use a spy hole and would let me in. I was then able to discuss Khatija's communication skills freely with her mother. Her parents continued to have only limited communication with Khatija, as with the other younger children. They felt it more appropriate for children to talk and play together than with an adult. Mother said that Khatija did seem to be talking more to the other children, but could not give more detailed information.

B9. Wahid. Age 4->6. English & Punjabi-speaking mother.

Wahid had been attending the nursery for three months before this study began. He was an only child. Wahid's mother was educated in England and has fluent spoken and written English, as does Wahid's father. She had a full-time job outside the home, so Wahid was cared for after school and during holidays by his grandmother who speaks only Punjabi.

Wahid's mother wanted to encourage his bilingual development: she used both languages with him. She was very interested in the questions of the Pragmatics Profile. I asked the questions, and she replied, in English. She was keen to talk about Wahid, giving many examples of his communication. Her description of him showed that he was performing at home at a much higher level than at school. At home, mother worked hard at playing with Wahid and encouraged grandmother to do the same.

Mother reported that Wahid said "Aja" [come] when he wanted her attention; seeing something of interest he waved his arms up and down saying "ahahah". Seeing an animal, especially a cat, he would say "goo(d)goo(d)boy". He asked for water with "papa" ['pani' is Punjabi for water.] She reported him saying "ja" when wanting to be picked up, "uhuh" when he wanted help. He used his 'pleading' sound "nene" for repetition of an activity, and "nei" [no] when refusing. He called his mother by name, rushing to grandmother and saying "Amina, Amina" when mother came in from work. When on the toilet he would call out "Amina aja" [Amina, come]. He said "byebye" when prompted.

His mother said that when happy, Wahid "claps hands, laughs, runs in circles and jumps up and down". When angry he would clench his fist and grimace. He would wriggle and scream to assert independence. Mother reported that whenever he saw someone on T.V. fall down he would laugh; if someone broke an object when she was out, on her return he would fetch and show her the pieces. He joined in nursery rhymes - saying "baa black sheep" completely. When being affectionate to mother he would say "googoogirl". Mother described her interactions and the games she played with Wahid.

At the time of this visit to his home Wahid did not speak at school. His teacher expressed some scepticism about Wahid's mother's description of his communication skills at home. During the next two years he gradually started to talk at school, saying "aja" [come], "Hello", "no", "bye". He started to join in songs and nursery rhymes. I made a video of Wahid playing with his mother at home and showed it to his teacher at school. She found it interesting and said she realised that Wahid was a child who did better in a one-to-one situation. In the video, much of Wahid's speech was imitation, telling nursery rhymes, reciting numbers after his mother, talking to a doll, naming and pointing to body parts.

At my suggestion his mother obtained Let's Talk (McConkey & Price, 1986), and worked on activities from it. She reported that Wahid's communication and speech continued to improve at home, but by the end of the study period he still had not shown in school the level of communication skills that he had at home two years earlier. At school he did not express his wishes, try to control others or even join in imitating labelling words, other than songs and rhymes, all of which he did at home. It seems unlikely that the difference between his communication at home and at school was a simple consequence of his bilingualism. He appeared to be more at ease, more in need to communicate at home than at school. However, teachers did not understand or respond to the first word he used in school "Aja" [come]. He used it several times in my hearing, and teachers agreed that they had heard him make this 'sound' at other times. Wahid may have learnt during this time that adults at school did not respond to his attempts to communicate in this way, and so stopped trying. This may have been a form of 'selective mutism' (Section 4.6.2).

B10. Akbar. Age 3->5. Pushto-speaking mother.

Akbar's mother came to Britain on marriage, from a rural area of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. She had no English or literacy skills. Akbar had attended the school for three months before this study begun. Akbar's uncles and grandparents live in neighbouring houses, so that on visiting I would find Akbar's mother sitting with grandmother and four or five aunts, supervising a number of children playing together on the floor. This would sometimes be in Akbar's home, or sometimes that of other relatives. In completing the Pragmatics Profile, mother and grandmother answered questions together, with support from the aunts. There was general discussion on most of the questions.

Akbar was said to be most communicative with his grandmother. Most of his communication was non-verbal. They said that the older children were teaching the younger ones English, and so the children were exposed to both languages at home. They reported that Akbar requested objects by saying "give me" in English (similar in meaning to the first words used in Swat villages, Section 5.9.3). He asked for water "obuh", and called one of his brothers by name. His mother felt that although his spoken language was limited he had no difficulty in making his wishes understood and that he related well with the other children of the extended family. She did not perceive communication as a problem.

During the first six months of the study, Akbar made progress in school. He had difficulty walking, because of an additional physical disability, but was able to move about freely on the floor without assistance. He started to imitate words, would shout for attention and was learning routines. His family then returned to Pakistan. Akbar was quite severely epileptic and in Pakistan it was not possible for him to obtain the medication prescribed in England. He became quite ill, having frequent convulsions. The family returned after six months, but for the following year Akbar was quite unwell, and lost many of the skills he had when he first started school. He became less mobile, no longer communicating with or showing recognition of his family. After extensive tests, and treatment, at the end of the two years Akbar's condition stabilised and he again started to make progress.

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Two other children joined the ten children described above, after the beginning of my study. I also worked with these children, and went through the Pragmatics Profile with their families. Although they did not fulfil the initial criteria for this study, I include some notes on their progress, as both followed different patterns of development from the other children.

Nergis. Age 4->6. Punjabi-speaking mother.

Nergis was already able to speak when she started at school. She made requests and occasional comments, with a recorded vocabulary of about 20 words. Over a period of two months she stopped using most of her Punjabi vocabulary at school, retaining words such as "baby" and "Bye-bye", which she had learnt at home and were also understood and used by others at school. A year later she had started to use English, but had not yet reached the level at which her Punjabi had been when she started school. She became reluctant to use Punjabi in school, and parents reported no development in her use of language at home during this time. A year and a half after starting school she again began to respond to me when I spoke to her in Punjabi at school. From then on, both languages started developing slowly.

Ashok. Age 4->6. Gujerati-speaking mother.

At the time Ashok started school his mother reported gestural communication and occasional words "bye", "na" [no], "car", "bus" and the Gujerati words for "milk" and "here". After 18 months at school he used occasional words of English - "yes", "no", an occasional imitative response. He received no MT stimulation in school, as I know no Gujerati. However, his mother visited school to attend a medical examination with Ashok and I observed what seemed to be a prolonged conversation between him and his mother, with several turns. Mother reported that Ashok was now indeed talking, and that he used sentences of three or four words. His language continued to progress at home, but after three years he had made no further progress in using English in school.

8.7 Summary of Mothers' Responses to Pragmatics Profile

The mother's responses to the questions of the Pragmatics Profile (Dewart & Summers, 1989) appear in Appendix 7. This does not include other comments and remarks made to me by the mothers.

All the mothers were able to answer most of the questions in the first two sections, on the child's 'Communicative Intentions' and 'Response to Communication'. Only two children, Ehjaz and Wahid were told nursery rhymes or were engaged in tickling games. The answers giving the most detail about their children's interactions were given by mothers of Tasleem, Ehjaz, Ayub and Wahid.

Five mothers (of Hameeda, Najma, Amir, Jamila and Khatija) indicated that they did not regard themselves as having a major role in stimulating their child's communication skills. Najma's and Khatija's mothers saw no need for interaction as it was provided by other children. Jamila's mother had a similar view, but also emphasised that her limited English was a factor in her not talking much to Jamila, as she felt Jamila should learn only English. Amir's mother said that she did not speak to her son at all. She had been told that he must learn English, and had been advised not to speak Punjabi to him. She knows no English, so did not speak to him. Hameeda's mother said that she did not talk to her daughter because her disability made it impossible for her to understand anything.

The questions about Interaction and Conversation were difficult for some of the mothers to answer. Mothers of Tasleem, Ehjaz and Wahid answered all questions, mothers of Ayub and Akbar some. The other five mothers seemed to have difficulty envisaging a 'conversation' with a child with limited verbal skills. These were also the five mothers who did not see themselves as having a major role in stimulating their child's communication skills. Tasleem, Ehjaz, Ayub, Wahid, Akbar, were reported to react to or join in other people's conversations.

On 'Contextual Variation', mothers felt Tasleem, Ehjaz and Wahid communicated best when at home, Jamila and Khatija when with their siblings. Mothers of Hameeda and Najma were reluctant to answer, but agreed when I suggested that their daughters were more communicative in school. Amir's mother suggested, perhaps hopefully, that her son was more communicative at school (she believed that by not communicating at home he would more easily do so at school). Mothers of Ayub and Akbar expressed no views.

During the following two years I visited homes and provided support and information as requested by mothers, and discussed the children's progress in an informal way. Two mothers, of Ehjaz and Wahid, accepted and discussed written material. Hameeda's mother's behaviour towards her daughter changed after she saw a video of Hameeda talking at school. Amir's mother was given much support and encouragement to speak to her son, but I suspected that she only began talking to him when she moved into a house away from her inlaws. Other mothers were visited intermittently, to discuss their child's progress and possible approaches. Ayub's mother was not concerned about his development until the final few months of the research.

None of these mothers appeared to feel threatened by the Pragmatics Profile interview, although I have since had such a reaction when using the same profile with another mother.

8.8 Summary of Children's Progress

Some children demonstrated considerable differences between their patterns of communication at home and at school. Two children, Tasleem and Wahid were observed to be more communicative at home. Both children used both English and MT words when at home. This was acceptable to the families, who also used a mixture of languages when talking to their child. Wahid's mother was herself bilingual. Tasleem's mother had little English, but she used any English words, as well as idiosyncratic words, used by her daughter. By the end of the study period Tasleem was also talking in school, but there remained a big difference in Wahid's performance when at school and when at home.

Hameeda, during the first half of the study period and Khatija, later, were both more communicative in school than at home, but especially if there was a MT speaker present. Hameeda showed that she had acquired internal language which she did not use at home. Similarly Khatija showed that the school environment could provide opportunities to express herself using forms she had heard at home but did not appear to use there.

The three oldest children in this group spent a year with a teacher who used Total Communication, signing words as she spoke. Children were placed in this class on the basis of age, not because of any assessed need for manual communication skills. Hameeda paid little attention to the hand movements and rarely attempted to sign. Najma seldom vocalised. She acquired a vocabulary of signs which she used for a broad range of communicative functions. When moved to a non-signing teacher she lost some of these signs, but did not develop spoken language. Tasleem, who had already been taught a few signs, stopped imitating spoken words, while she concentrated on trying to imitate the teacher's hand movements. She developed a sign vocabulary. A year later, when moved to a teacher who did not sign she stopped signing and her spoken English vocabulary developed. My previous experience of children learning signing had led me to regard it as a means of encouraging communication, which also facilitates learning spoken language. One possible difference was that this teacher used signs constantly and rapidly, not only to emphasise significant words, as is the more usual practice with children with learning difficulties. Bilingualism may however also have been a factor: Tasleem was learning to speak Pushto at home, although progress at this time was also very slow there; possibly she found it easier to concentrate on signing rather than English at school because it was a more distinctly different style of communicating.

Having looked at each child' experience and language development separately, I decided to tabulate the children's achievements, at the end of the two year study period, to see whether any patterns were apparent.

The next tables summarise some features of the children's language at the end of the two year study period.

Keys to Tables 8.1 & 8.2

In Table 8.1:
'Lexicon' scores the number of recognisable words being used meaningfully, not in imitation, by the child. Songs and nursery rhymes are excluded. Greetings count as one word, being usually learnt as a single item. (Saying "good morning" a child need not know that the separate words have meanings distinct from that context. Urdu/Punjabi speaking Muslims normally use greetings based on Arabic/Persian. Meaning attaches to the phrase, not the individual words). Lexicon of 20+ words scores ***. 5-15 words: **. Under 5 words: *.
MLU above 1.0 scores **. MLU of 1.0: * (Calculated as in Chapter 6).
Frequency of Initiation is a score of how often a child initiates communication with another person when in an undirected play situation, with an adult nearby. Above 15 utterances in a 15 minute period: ***. 5-15 utterances in a 15 minute period: **. Under five: *.
Functions. Six or seven of Halliday's early functions (see Section 2.2.2) ***. Four to five, score **. One to three, score *.

Table 8.2 includes information on the home environment. "Mother's Response to Prag. Prof." refers to the initial interview with mothers. Scores as follows:

0 : Mothers did not expect to talk to or get response from their child.
2 : Mothers described talking/responding to their child, but not turn-+taking and conversational interaction.
3 : Mothers described talking/responding to their child, and also conversational turn-taking with their child.

The children's scores for language skills fall into two groups:
G1, G2, G3, G7 and G8 have high scores.
B4, B5, B6 and B10 achieved considerably less.
B9 is a high scorer at home, but a low scorer at school.

It is clear from the above results that the girls in this group made more rapid progress than the boys. This was unexpected, as four of these girls had mothers who did not interact much with their daughters according to their Pragmatics Profile responses. Two girls, Najma, Jamila, now only use the language learnt at school (one using signs, the other English) and use these both at home and at school. Both do, however, appear to have some degree of communication disorder. Najma did not speak, rarely making any sounds. Jamila continued to talk largely to herself, her interaction with adults was restricted to "oi" meaning 'come here' and 'look'; she issued streams of orders to other children but she was not observed or reported taking part in turn-taking interactions. The other three girls used both languages, but made longer utterances, or initiated communication, more readily in their MT.

The children of mothers who initially reported high levels of communication, made varied progress, one being a higher achiever, the others lower achievers in language skills. Of the five children whose mothers initially reported little interaction, after two years four were among the more communicative children.

Of the children whose mothers reported plenty of interaction, all were able to communicate to some extent in their MTs. Those who spoke both languages had more skills in their MTs.

Children whose mothers reported less interaction were less likely to use MT. Of five children in this group, three did not use their MT, although two of these were in the 'more communicative' group at school. One child used both languages, and the other mostly MT, used at first only in school.

Possible reasons for the more rapid development of the five girls:

1. Some of their mothers may have learned

Table 8.1: Some Features of Children's Language

Child's code no.	Lexicon MT	Lexicon English	MLU	Range of Functions	Frequency of Initiation
G1	***	*	**	***	***
G2	0	** signs	*	***	***
G3	**	**	*	***	***
B4	0	*	*	*	*
B5	*	0	*	*	*
B6	*	0	*	*	*
G7	0	***	**	*	***
G8	**	**	**	***	**
B9 school	*	*	*	*	*
B9 home	**	**	**	***	***
B10	*	*	*	*	**

Table 8.2: Home Environment and Language

Child's code number	Mother's response to Pragmatics Profile	Mother's use of English	Birth order among siblings	Child's use of languages at end of two year study
G1	0	None	Youngest of 3 (big age gap)	Hindko
G2	0	None	4th of 7	sign
G3	3	None *	Youngest of 6	Pushto, English
B4	0	None	Oldest of 3	English
B5	3	Little	Older of 2	Punjabi
B6	2	None	Youngest of 7	Mirpuri
G7	0	Little	Youngest of 4	English
G8	0	None	4th of 6	Mirpuri, English
B9	3	Fluent	Only child	Punjabi, English
B10	2	None	3rd of 4, in extended family household with other children	Pushto

* The only English that mother of G3 uses are words which her daughter has introduced.

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more from the support and information which I provided during the year following the completion of the Pragmatics Profile, or made more changes in their interactions with the child as a result of the information they were given.
2. Some of these girls may have been performing below their potential when the study began because of limited language stimulation at home, and so developed more rapidly in the school environment. Their initial lack of spoken language may have been a reflection of limited experiences rather than the degree of their disability.
3. Gender factors: Studies of gender differences (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Fogel, 1984) have found that girls more readily acquire verbal skills; although the girls in the present study were all considerably delayed in learning to talk, they may have responded more easily than the boys to factors in the school environment or to changes in their mother's responsiveness. Mothers' level of interaction with their children may in part have been affected by the gender of the child, so that, if sons were preferred, girls were offered less stimulation and interaction. (The only girl whose mother offered a high level of interaction had four brothers, and her parents had hoped for a daughter at the time of her birth).
4. Interactive behaviour with siblings. This was not studied, but the girls in this group all had older siblings. Among the boys only Ayub had older siblings, although Akbar also spent a lot of time with cousins. Dosanjh, (1976, p.458) found that, amongst a Sikh community, elder siblings played a large part in younger children's language acquisition.

8.9 Changes In Practices at the School

As noted in Chapter 6, Action Research can be a methodology for changing practice in schools. During the period of my research I tried to monitor my own practice in providing MT support to children, and observe the effects of this in the school. I had ideas about increasing opportunities for this sort of support to children: encouraging students and volunteers in using their language skills; encouraging bilingual staff at the school; offering help to teachers and ancillary staff to learn more about children's MTs and family practices. Some individual teachers expressed an interest in my approach and gave encouragement to students on placements in their classes to use their language skills with children. Others did not.

I did not succeed in introducing new methods generally within the school, and had been naive to imagine that I would have freedom to innovate in this way. In this school, such change could have taken place only if initiated by a senior member of staff, with personal agreement of the head. Otherwise, attempts to involve other staff collaboratively were regarded as subversive. The attitude of the senior management of the school was not encouraging, and when I instigated discussions during staff meetings, those staff who were opposed to allowing children to use MTs in school were the most vocal. Reasons expressed for such strong views included:

> "I would be very angry if my child started picking up words from their languages."
> "They won't learn to speak English properly if they speak their language first. Their mouths will be fixed in the wrong shape."
> "They've come to this country, so they've got to learn English."
> "It's not in the National Curriculum."

The attitudes of the majority of senior staff meant that discussion with bilingual staff and nursery nurse students had to take place informally and without official endorsement. Opposition resulted from personal attitudes to bilingualism, as described in Chapter 2; plus conflicts that arise between Action Research and management (Crookes, 1993), and conflicts which Hutchinson & Whitehouse (1986) see as arising from the reluctance of the teachers to set their work in a wider context than the classroom.

Elliott (1993, p.177) describes three perspectives on Action Research. I had started with his first, that teachers are free to innovate within their own practice. He regarded this as the traditional view of the action researcher. However I soon felt that the school management took the second perspective described: that change should be initiated by managers, while the role of individual teachers is to conform to the requirements of management. The latter view is considered not to be "oppressive" where teachers and management "share a vision", but the teacher is not free to innovate, or evaluate practices. The hierarchical management system at the site of my study eliminated the possibility of taking up Elliott's preferred perspective, of discourse between a wide group of interested persons, which would include parents and older pupils.

Nevertheless, individual teachers saw that some children were talking more when they had the opportunity to use their MT, and were pleased to have detailed information about children's skills and experiences at home. Starting from a baseline of almost total neglect of non-English MTs and lack of awareness of

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modern language development research, some real progress could be seen among staff actually teaching the children. Changes of attitude, even if slight and hesitant, were more significant because of the generally unsupportive ethos of the school, and the fact that hardly any of the teachers had a knowledge of Asian languages with which they could reinforce their changing view. There was no bandwagon on which to climb, nor personal benefit to derive from recognising MT importance. The achievement of positive results here, albeit modest ones, suggests that in a more favourable environment much greater progress could be made by demonstrating ways to support MT learning and using existing resources more effectively.

Potential resources regularly appeared in the school from the local community, in the shape of students and volunteers, which could have gone some way towards compensating for the teaching staff's lack of Asian languages and cultural knowledge. Such resources were seldom used, for several reasons:

1. The Asian MTs were not regarded as useful, or were thought to be actually harmful.
2. Language work in general was weak and unimaginative.
3. The management style tended to obscure any idea that volunteers and sixth-formers might be able to contribute something that qualified teachers lacked.

So far as physical resources were concerned, it was evident that children most readily used their MT when playing in the 'house play area'. Unfortunately, not all the nursery or infant classes had access to such an area. An area which had been available during the first year of the study was put to another use. Eventually I obtained a number of appropriate items for my own use, which I carried with me from room to room. I thought that some children would benefit from provision of a special house play area, for use when a speaker of their MT was available. Such provision might encourage children like Ashok to speak in school. Although this could not be provided, an area was again designated for infant classes house play.

8.10 Some Conclusions

The methods used in this study were built upon the long term relationships I developed with both children and parents. Without the relationship of trust arising from working in their children's school, I would probably not have been able to gain information about the child's experiences at home. My language skills and cultural background also facilitated work at home. At the same time, as a liaison teacher based at the school, working with pupils over an extended period, in a variety of classrooms, both collaboratively and alone, I was better placed to study their language development than most researchers who are limited to visiting during a fixed period.

This study has shown the wide range of possible language acquisition processes experienced by bilingual children labelled as having Severe Learning Difficulties, and that it is not possible to make general assumptions about a child's ability in her MT without assessment and enquiry.

The study design was not such as would provide clear evidence of a 'silent period' on entering a new language environment, as children were not talking at the time they started school (see Section 4.6.2). However, several children were observed to be more communicative when at home. Some became more communicative in school after a time, but two had long-term difficulties. Ashok, in particular could be described as a 'selective' or 'elective' mute . The pause in Tasleem's English development while she acquired signs was paralleled by the pause of Nergis, the only child who could talk in MT before starting school, in developing MT skills while learning some English. Unlike Tasleem, Nergis did not have much interaction with adults or other children at home.

There was evidence that most of the children, even among the younger group, were aware of the distinction between their two languages; attempts to communicate in their home language in school rarely occurred unless the child was confident that their partner also used that language.

Half the mothers provided language stimulation in the home, whereas half apparently did not. One believed she should not, as her child needed to learn English. Two did not see it as their role, and one gave both these reasons. Another underestimated her child's abilities, as the child seemed to have learnt to be passive and non-communicating. This child made considerable progress when encouraged to use her MT in school.

It was clear that some children had developed a substantial passive understanding of language at home, but needed the opportunity to learn skills to express themselves. While the same *may* be the case for many English speaking children, such patterns of development are not described in the normal child acquisition literature. It was necessary to build up a relationship with these children before they would begin to demonstrate their language skills, so that it is unlikely that a short period of assessment could give a satisfactory picture of their potential abilities.

Both teacher and parents attitudes to bilingualism were significant, some teachers and some parents not recognising the need of the child to be able to communicate within their family.

There was no evidence that a period of learning to communicate using sign in any way facilitates bilingual or second language learning, (while its value for children who have difficulty in speech production is acknowledged).

I wished to explore further the issue of mothers who did not talk to their children at home. While wishing to encourage mothers to talk to their children, I did not wish to be directive. Apart from ethical considerations, I did not imagine that these mothers would change their practice just because I told them to do so. None of the mothers in this group had literacy skills, so it was not possible to give them written information. Instead I decided to make a short educational video film. This could be used to provide information to parents, but I hoped it would also provide opportunities for discussion so that the mothers concerned would further explain their viewpoints, which might throw some light on why some mothers provide good opportunities for communication and language development, while others do not. Details of the video, and mothers' reactions, appear in the next chapter.

Chapter 9. PRODUCTION & USE OF AN INFORMATIVE VIDEO

I decided to make a video about language acquisition, showing mothers interacting with developmentally delayed children, to explore the effectiveness of this medium in offering information about language development and the potential role of parents. The video would provide a focus for discussion with mothers about their concepts of children's ways of acquiring language and their potential role. I believed that a video would be more 'impersonal' than a personal, spoken presentation, so that mothers would feel more freedom to respond and, if appropriate, disagree.

This part of the research was done at a time when many British Pakistani families in this city owned video cassette recorders (VCRs), for watching Asian films. More recently, with access to Satellite TV stations, some families have allowed their VCRs to fall into disrepair.

9.1 Parental Training Programmes

Videos are now widely used as resources in training parents to work with children with learning difficulties. They have been tested for use as a substitute for direct professional involvement in home-based programmes. McConkey (1988), McConkey & Bradley (1991), and McConkey & O'Connor (1982) demonstrated the effectiveness of video for instruction of parents of children with learning difficulties. The medium is being further used in populations with low literacy levels (e.g. O'Toole & Maison-Halls, 1993).

Baker (1990) reported successful transmission of behavioural methods of teaching self-help skills through video programmes. Parents in 'live training' by professionals made more apparent gains in learning behavioural principles than those trained by video, but their children's subsequent learning of targeted skills was equal in both groups and significantly greater than those in a control group which received no training.

McConkey (1988) also found video programmes effective in teaching interactive skills such as looking together, turn-taking, appropriate play, responsiveness to child's attempts to communicate and more contextual speech and topic extension.

A positive experience of group training and discussion in Pakistan, in which I took part, involved mothers with cerebral palsied children, who made considerable efforts to be present. M.Miles & Frizzell (1990, p.186) report that

> "[They] participated more actively and vocally than had been expected, asking questions to clarify advice, inquiring about the efficacy of 'medicine' to help their child, taking some interest in children other than their own. The hopes and fears expressed by some of the Pakistani mothers about their children's future were verbally identical with those spoken by [a group of English mothers in London]".

It was planned to make videos of these sessions as a training tool and to multiply the numbers of parents having access to professional demonstrations and participant discussions. This could not finally be done, because of very strong cultural inhibitions about the women's faces being seen on film.

9.2 Purpose of the Video

The aim was not to use the video as a 'training programme', which would require agreement by parents that they needed training; it was to give information to mothers about ways in which their interaction could enhance the child's language skills, and encourage mothers to discuss the ideas shown.

I planned that the video should communicate the following points:

1. It is acceptable and desirable for a mother to talk to her child in her own language, i.e. MT rather than English.
2. Communication starts with sharing experiences, and this leads to later language skills.
3. A child is helped to develop communication skills when people are aware of, and respond appropriately to, any messages the child tries to communicate.

I knew the mothers already had views about their children and how to behave with them. While these often differed from those of middle-class English professionals, they had no reason to regard themselves as needing to change, although they might wish to adapt their practices in view of a child's perceived disability. Turnbull (1972) noted that members of traditional societies, where information is transmitted by means other than the printed word, do not see themselves as lacking knowledge about experiences which are part of their normal life, such as child-rearing. New information may be welcomed if it fits with beliefs already held, or met with suspicion if traditional beliefs are dismissed. I was not assuming that all the mothers I worked with necessarily subscribed to traditional value systems; some had received some formal education, and all had experienced life in a foreign culture.

I also recalled Sigel's warning (1983, p.10) of possibly adverse consequences to families of changing child-rearing patterns on the advice of professionals. Especially for members of ethnic minorities, such changes may damage the family's support and social network, as interaction patterns are changed and people construe the changes as a rejection of themselves or of community values. Sigel points to the needs of such issues being discussed with parents in advance.

9.3 Making the Video

I attended a short course of evening classes on the production of videos, and decided to make a 15-minute edited video. I had access to several VHS video cameras owned by the school, and I used whichever was available. A Super-VHS camera and film would have been preferable, (McConkey & Bradley, 1991) but I did not have free access to such apparatus.

I planned to record as much as possible of the video using mothers and children who were participating in the study described in Chapter 7. However, because of traditional Islamic views concerning exposure of women, only one mother was happy to be videoed. One other Asian mother of a child with learning difficulties, whom I met through home visits, also agreed to take part. These two mothers had both been educated in England, and had made greater adaptation to English middle-class culture than any others in the study. They owned toys appropriate for their child's level of development, and used them in play. However, they frequently switched language when addressing their child, rather than using solely Punjabi/Urdu. I explained that I wanted to video them using as much Urdu or Punjabi as possible; but being most concerned that the interaction between mother and child be natural, I did not interrupt their interaction and play to ask them to switch from English. Thus some of the most useful sequences, from the point of view of spontaneous mother-child interactions, incidentally showed the mothers speaking English, which was not a desired message.

These two mothers were recorded playing with their children in their sitting rooms. I had hoped to video them performing household chores, perhaps in the kitchen, while the child using household implements as toys; but this would have been less satisfying for these women. They naturally wanted to be seen at their best, giving their whole attention to the child. Since they had already shown much kindness and hospitality in allowing me to video them in their homes, I did not wish to make extra demands. Instead I asked a colleague of Indian origin to let me record her doing household chores with her son doing various activities, including the boy having temper tantrums, which would probably have embarrassed the other mothers.

I wished to use some sequences of a normal baby, so asked one of the school ancillary staff, who is from a Pathan family, if I could video her baby daughter. She did not want me to video at her home so brought the baby to school; however, she also requested that her own face should never appear, which made it harder to video natural mother-child interaction. Also included was some material recorded at the special school in Pakistan where I previously worked.

This video was edited on standard equipment to which I gained access at Birmingham Trades Union Resource Centre. A commentary in Urdu was added, which was translated from my English script by a friend who has Urdu as her MT. This translation was read and approved by several other Urdu readers, and was then recorded, read by the translator. The English script appears in Appendix 8.

9.4 Results of Showing the Video

The video was shown to British Pakistani mothers of children attending the SLD school, both to individuals and groups. Most of the mothers had not participated in the research reported in Chapters 7 and 8.

9.4.1 Showing the video to individuals

I showed the video to parents of children who had recently started in the nursery and infant classes of the special school. The quality of the video was acceptable when shown on a monitor with a well-maintained player, but using home equipment the reproduction was of variable quality. I told the mothers that I had recently made the video and was interested to know whether they thought it would be interesting or helpful to other mothers of children attending the special school.

Home Showing 1. Ayesha, mother of Sajjad, had lived in England since the age of 10 and spoke English. With her husband and Sajjad, she lived with her parents. Her husband had come to England on marriage, and spoke very little English. Sajjad was the only child in the household. While Ayesha and I watched the video other members of the family came in and out. They did not want to sit and watch the video, but asked Ayesha for assistance with various household affairs. After the showing I tried to engage Ayesha in discussion, but she said she didn't like questions and would rather see the video again. We did so, and this time were not disturbed. Afterwards Ayesha said that she would try to sit and play with her Sajjad more, and talk to him more. On subsequent visits we discussed activities she was trying with Sajjad.

Home Showing 2. Rozwana, mother of Salma, had come to England on marriage and knew very little English. She and her husband lived a mile from her inlaws. Salma had one younger sister. I had already observed, on previous visits, that Rozwana was responsive to Salma's attempts to communicate, and talked to her while performing household tasks. Rozwana and I were alone in the house when we watched the video. Salma's sister had gone to her playgroup. Rozwana found it hard to sit and watch the video. She was constantly getting up and moving objects about the room. When a sequence appeared on the video of a mother looking in a catalogue with her son, Rozwana said "I've got one of those, can you help me to choose what to buy?" and fetched her catalogue. She then discussed which tea-service she should buy, if any. Rozwana told me that although she likes to have Indian videos, she never sat to watch the story - she listened to the music and looked at the clothes people wore.

Home Showing 3. Amir's mother. This mother also participated in the research described in Chapter 8. I tried several times to show her the video, but the family's video recorder was out of order, and it was not repaired before they went to Pakistan for an extended visit.

Home Showing 4. Shamim was the mother of ten children, the youngest of whom, Haider, attended the SLD school. She spoke no English. The eldest son lived in the house with his wife and two children. A sister who was married had left the house, but visited almost daily with her baby. The VCR in this home did not reproduce the video sound audibly. Nevertheless, Shamim sat to watch the video. Her daughter and daughter-in-law came in and out of the room, but did not stay to watch. Shamim said that she thought the video was "good" for some mothers, but that she herself had no time to play with her child. She felt it was sufficient that the other children in the household played with Haider. I suggested that the daughter-on-law might also like to see the video, but Shamim said that she did not have time to play with Haider as she had to do housework and had her own children to manage.

Home Showing 5. Azma had only one son, Kamran, who had recently started at the nursery of the SLD school. She was educated in Pakistan but knew no English and lived with her inlaws. Kamran was home from school because he was unwell, so I played with him while Azma watched the video. The VCR did not reproduce the picture clearly. Azma was more interested in watching Kamran with me than watching the video. Before it finished, her mother-in-law returned bringing a guest, so we switched off the video. Azma thought that the video could be useful for some mothers, but that she already played with Kamran. She did not want to finish seeing the video.

9.4.2 Showing the video to groups

I showed the video to Asian Mother's Groups, for mothers of children with learning difficulties, meeting under the auspices of Social Services or Barnardos. These mothers had children whose ages ranged from two to twenty years. Five groups were identified, to whom I would show the video. I presented it as something I had made, on which I wanted the group's opinion whether it was useful to show to other mothers. The equipment available was of better quality than that found in homes, so there was no difficulty with sound or picture.

Group 1. Five mothers were present on this day.

The mothers watched the video with apparent interest. I asked whether they thought it was useful. A mother replied that she knew that the activities shown were the right things to do, but she did not do them. The others agreed, saying they also would like to do these things, but could not. I asked why, and they explained that it was because of the demands made by relatives. Their inlaws would complain if they spent time playing with the children. One said "The children's grandparents look after the children - my life is in the kitchen - I've no time to play".

Another had a sister-in-law who shared housework and childcare, but she said that when it was their turn to be with the children they just watched out for their physical safety and did not play with the children. I asked one mother, whom I knew lived apart from her in-laws, whether she could not feel free to play. She replied that they lived just down the street from her, and she shared chores with them, so she felt no freedom to relax and enjoy her children.

All this group agreed that they would choose to interact with and play with their children if they were not part of their husband's extended family. They asked me whether the mothers in the video lived with inlaws, as they doubted this. I replied that one mother lived with husband, child and her own parents, the others lived as nuclear families.

They said they had thought so. These mothers on video were doing what "any mother would like to do" if her inlaws were not present. They continued grumbling together about their inlaws.

I asked whether the situation was different from what it would be in Pakistan. They told me that there it was usual for mothers to spend all their time on household chores, but that the grandparents generally played with children. I suggested that perhaps the children's grandparents (their mothers- in-law) might play with the children here; but the mothers said that here in England, the old people had become "lazy" and were unwilling to take on the responsibilities which they would have had in their villages of origin.

Group 2. Seven mothers, including Shamim who had seen the video at home.
After watching the video I asked if anyone would say what they thought of it. Two mothers remarked that it was interesting, they saw good things to do with children. One mother, Sabiha, then became quite indignant with the others and asked whether they realised that this was very important for their children. Their children would make progress if they played with them, talked to them, and especially if they watched, listened and responded to them. Because of their problems, these children needed a different approach from other children. Shamim told Sabiha that there were other children in the house to play with her child, implying that she need not do so. Sabiha told her this was not enough, that mothers must themselves work with their children, to overcome their disabilities. She gave examples of how she had become more aware of her daughter's attempts to communicate. Unfortunately discussion ended at this point, through the arrival of another speaker.

Group 3. Seven mothers, meeting at the school.
The third group of mothers watched the video in silence. Afterwards they made only a few non-committal comments, "very good"; "yes, we do these things". This group saw the video after a tour of the school and meeting some of their children's teachers. They were preoccupied and more concerned to talk about what they had seen in school than about the video.

Aborted attempts. I planned to show the video to two other groups, but they both stopped meeting earlier than expected for the summer and did not reconvene in the autumn because the social workers responsible were seconded for training. Some other mothers joined Group 1, so I arranged to visit again to show the video to a different group, but the organiser broke her leg, and meetings were suspended for three months. By the time they resumed my school teaching timetable was changed, so I could no longer attend this group.

9.5 Discussion

Although the purpose of the video was children learning *language and communication* skills, only one mother, Sabiha in group 2, responded by talking about communication. The other mothers discussed the video as being about *playing* with children. This may be because a wide range of activities were shown, which the commentary compressed together with too many steps in each sentence, with counter-productive effect.

None of the individual mothers wished to discuss the contents of the video. One admitted she had never watched a video for a story or information, only looking at clothes and listening to music, and she was unable to absorb information in this way. I found mothers far more confident about expressing views in groups of between five and seven than in private. Whether all their points of view were actually expressed in such groups, or only the views of the more dominant members, to which the others might be giving polite agreement, was unclear.

Only one of the mothers seeing the video actively looked for new ideas of things to do with her son. She was the only one who expressed a need for information, and who had had some education in England. I have no evidence that any other mothers changed their practices as a result of information conveyed in the video. However, it is possible that some did so later. When training teachers in Pakistan, apparently without any result, I realised eventually that there was a normal interval of several months between my suggestion of a practical idea and its implementation in their classroom.

The response of Group 1, who felt that their household duties prevented them from giving the best support to their children, was surprising. I had envisaged that mothers would have more difficulties if they had no relatives to help them. These mothers regarded the relatives as a problem, and believed mothers without inlaws could more easily play with and enjoy their children. They were unwilling to risk damaging family relationships by changing their approach to their child. This supported Sigel's point (1983, p.10), mentioned above. It is tempting for professionals to suggest that these mothers, who claim to know the importance of play and interaction, should prioritise their child's needs. Yet these women were under considerable family pressure, and the maintenance of good relationships with their inlaws was the higher priority. The mothers agreed that migration had resulted in changes in family roles. Grandparents no longer played with their grandchildren, with the result that now nobody did.

In Group 2, one mother showed how she had thought about her child's communicative needs. She argued vigorously with other mothers about the importance of giving time to stimulating and interacting with their children, on the basis that children with special educational needs should be treated in a special way, not because this was an appropriate model for all children. In working with the mothers described in Chapter 8, I had preferred to emphasise the needs of the 'special' child to be treated as normally as possible, speaking to her as to other children, using the same language as to other children. However, where mothers do not *normally* expect to interact with young, normally developing children, it may be necessary to stress that the child's disability requires a special approach. This does not criticise their child-rearing practices in general, but suggests a different approach for a different child.

Chapter 10. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters explored issues relating to the language acquisition of children of Pakistani origin attending SLD schools, both theoretical insights from research literature and those arising from practical research studies. Some conclusions from each section or phase of the research are summarised or discussed at the end of each chapter. This chapter brings together these conclusions, drawing out the significant issues, with recommendations for changes in practice and further research.

10.1 Factors Affecting Language Acquisition of Bilingual Children

10.1.1 Range of experiences

The literature on bilingualism shows different ethnic and social groups having very different experiences of bilingualism. Some problems in educating bilingual children result from applying the results found with one group to others in a quite different situation. The present study found wide variations in the experiences of language and bilingualism amongst British Pakistani children living in one English Midlands city and attending one SLD school. Some became bilingual; some did not acquire English at school; others were unable to express themselves in their MT, though they learnt to use some English.

Most of the children studied came from homes where only the MT was used; some had siblings who used English at home, a few were from homes where some English was used by adults. Most children heard and used only English at school, apart from my intervention, although there were some exceptions to this (notably the two girls who played together using their MT).

Some children came from homes where there was plenty of interaction between mother and child. Others experienced little language stimulation or opportunities to interact at home. Some played with siblings and had what were regarded as 'normal' experiences of childhood within their family; others were treated differently because of their perceived disability, sometimes to the extent of always being addressed in a different language from that used for all other family interactions.

Four of the children studied made visits to Pakistan of between three and six months. The two older pupils, Jehanzeb and Zulfikar, appeared to benefit from this. Jehanzeb's Punjabi skills improved, and he stopped mixing English words with Punjabi. Zulfikar attended a mainstream school in Pakistan. The two younger children both became ill while away, one as a result of not being able to obtain the drugs used to stabilise his epilepsy, the other through repeated gastro-intestinal infection. These two made no observable progress while they were away.

10.1.2 Parents' interaction with their children

The literature described in Chapter 5 showed that mothers in some cultures do not regard their role as including playing with their children. Some may not expect to interact verbally with their young children.

My study of nursery/infant children (Chapter 8) found that half the mothers of younger children did interact well, according to dominant British cultural values, with their children. Other mothers gave three reasons for not interacting verbally: their child would not understand; their child should learn English, but first learning the MT would make this harder; children should interact with other children rather than with adults. Hameeda's mother believed that Hameeda's disability prevented her from understanding anything. This mother regarded interaction with children as part of her normal role, as shown when another baby was born, after this study was completed. She was delighted when she found that Hameeda could understand and talk, and thereafter provided support to her language development at home. Other mothers were not so easily persuaded to change their role.

One group of mothers, after viewing the prepared video, (Chapter 9) indicated that they knew the value of interactive play with children: they claimed that they would prefer to spend time on such activities, but pressure from inlaws prevented it. They argued that the inlaws required that they, the children's mothers, should fulfil traditional roles, while themselves neglecting their traditional role as grandparents, playing with children.

In some bilingual households, the family normally used the MT, but when directly addressing the children attending the special school they always used English. These children were thus excluded from the normal pattern of family interaction. This occurred in some families where the mother had little or no English, so that there was effectively no verbal interaction between mother and child. Some of these children developed patterns of language use which appeared *disordered* (i.e. not following a normal pattern of development), rather than delayed. Some parents appear to have taken this approach as a result of following professionals' advice. Professionals should be made aware that advising families to speak only English with their 'special' child may severely disrupt patterns of parent-child interaction, with harmful results far outweighing any dubious benefits they might expect.

10.1.3 School experiences

The literature explored in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 pointed to the importance of providing children with MT support in school.

The older children who were studied (Chapter 7) had had no support for their MT at school. Some nevertheless became fluent in both languages. Most of the children who spoke both languages had higher MLU scores in their MT than in English, even after five or more years at school. This suggests that the home was a more effective environment for language learning to take place than school. It also suggests that children would have had more opportunities for learning and cognitive development had they been able to use their MT in school. Similarly, the group of children who spoke only in their MT would have been enabled to learn more had they been encouraged to use and extend their abilities through their MT. Experience with the younger children, particularly Hameeda, indicates that some children who do not speak their MT, because of limited opportunities to interact at home, might nevertheless have learned to do so if encouraged to interact using MT at school. This would facilitate learning English once communication skills were established.

Some of the bilingual children, in junior classes, had the most advanced English skills of any child in their class, and the absence of peer models may have prevented further progress in English. Teachers' expectations were sometimes too low and approaches to teaching language were not always appropriate, especially the emphasis on labelling skills.

Although the children I studied could not talk on starting school, they were not learning two languages concurrently in the same way as children in bilingual families. Before starting school they had already had experience of their first language and culture. They had learnt to recognise the sounds and rhythms of speech, and facial expressions and body movements. As seen in Section 3.4.1, Genesee (1989) refers to research suggesting that babies by six weeks old can distinguish between the sound systems of different languages. When the children I studied first came to school, they would have been surrounded by unfamiliar sounds and expressions, which they would not be able to recognise. Their monolingual teachers were unable to recognise their attempts to communicate, whether verbal or non-verbal. Whereas in a bilingual family children are understood whichever language they use, children in school were not understood when they tried to communicate in their MT. In my opinion, such a situation can be compared, in terms of disregard for the child's needs, with those schools where deaf children used to have their hands tied to prevent them from signing; or to the practice of punishing children for using their left hands.

10.1.4 Emotional factors in bilingual language acquisition

Recent language acquisition research recognises the importance of emotional factors in early MT acquisition. Bilingual education research recognises that some children experience emotional trauma on submersion in a culturally unfamiliar second language, with stresses impeding second language acquisition and cognitive development. Where such negative emotions are experienced at an early stage of first language acquisition, it is suggested that there might be negative consequences for the child's development of communication skills.

My research did not look directly for signs of emotional distress amongst the bilingual children. Many children on entering the Special School nursery class were clearly very distressed for several days, weeks or longer. Most of my children had already passed this phase when I started making observations. However, when a child's initial distress diminishes, she finds she is in a situation where people behave in unfamiliar ways; she is required to behave differently from the way she acts at home. She may become happy at school, or she may remain distressed. If the latter, she may not wish to communicate; but lack of communication may be counted as evidence of inability, rather than her choice. In a school system moving towards measurable results, it is easier to find the child 'guilty' of severely delayed development, than to accept that the child may in fact be coping heroically with an alien and discouraging environment. (It was not without reason that my study refers to 'children attending SLD schools', rather than 'SLD children').

The children's delay in their development of social skills meant that they were not able to provide one another with the peer support which is often used as a support strategy in a submersion situation in mainstream schools (Thompson, 1994).

Emotional factors may also be involved where children do not speak their MT. One girl lived in an extended family household where at least one other child claimed to be unable to speak her MT, although several other women in the house, including her mother, spoke no English.

10.2 Effects of Bilingualism on Cognitive Abilities

The study of literature in Chapters 4 and 5 found no evidence that children's cognitive abilities are in any way diminished by learning to speak two languages. If children's MT is enabled to develop, at the same time as the second language is being learnt, there is convincing evidence that their cognitive skills benefit. Controversy focuses on whether children should be taught through their second language or through their MT. There is a substantial consensus that there is a threshold level which a child needs to achieve in both languages before being able to learn and develop new cognitive skills *through* a second language. Until the threshold level in the MT has been reached, the emphasis should be on developing MT skills, and using MT as the medium for learning cognitive skills. This view is held not only by proponents of bilingual education, but in books on teaching English as Second Language such as Tough (1985). Evidence for this has largely been ignored in SLD schools in England, where most of their pupils enter schools with levels of achievement in their MT well below any threshold which has been proposed.

While it would be naive to assume that children cannot make progress through second language education, it is clear that, for some children, having to learn a second language before having access to other aspects of education, because they are taught in English, forms a substantial hurdle. If special educators claim to meet individual children's needs there can be no justification for placing unnecessary additional barriers to their learning. Political positions favouring minority group assimilation are clearly inappropriate in a context where they add to the problems of children with learning difficulties.

Among the older children whom I studied, those with the most advanced language skills, in either language, were able to speak both languages. However, it was not possible to deduce a cause and effect relationship between their bilingualism and other skills. Several of the older children had, and enjoyed using, translation skills.

10.3 Effects of Supporting MT Use in School

Earlier models of bilingual language acquisition favoured separating the context in which each language was used, and were concerned about language 'mixing'. It is now seen as beneficial for a child to use her stronger language to support cognitive and second language learning. Few children have difficulty in separating their languages, and if they do, exposure to a 'pure' form of either language can be expected to result in the child 'separating' both languages.

Only one of the older children I studied used mixed forms of expression. Jehanzeb used only English words with other teachers, but after realising I was bilingual he used mixed utterances with me. This stopped after he visited Pakistan. Thereafter he used unmixed utterances, keeping to one language. Other children who included English words when speaking their MT, were following the patterns normally used in their home community. There was no evidence that the children receiving bilingual support would have any more difficulty in separating their languages. Even if MT teaching were introduced throughout the school, children would still have considerable exposure to 'pure' forms of English.

Some of the children at first found it strange that I spoke to them in their MT in school. However, Urdu and Punjabi speakers soon accepted this and were happy to use both languages when talking to me. The Pushto speakers did not. This underlined the importance of starting using children's MTs with them from when they first start at school, even though they are not themselves talking at this time.

I could provide only a little MT support to the nursery children, at most one lesson weekly, but this was enough to provide certain insights into its benefits. Support was directed to developing children's social communication skills. Children were provided with the opportunity to use expressions which they had heard, internalised and understood. Some children started to name objects using the more familiar MT words during the MT support sessions, developing basic concepts. Hameeda's parents had reported that she could not speak at all, but she started to talk during MT play sessions and quickly showed that she knew many words and expressions. She had needed encouragement to start talking. She had not talked at home before this and could easily have continued to be silent at school, if specific efforts had not been made to enable her to express herself.

Children who had my regular sessions of MT support were ready to communicate with other MT speakers in school, students and volunteers, without the extended 'warming up' phase that sometimes was needed with other children, who had not previously been encouraged to use their MTs in school.

The only child in the nursery/infants classes with which I worked who acquired the ability to speak his MT, but not English, was a Gujerati speaker. I could provide no MT support at school. He learnt to talk at home, but his skills could not be utilised in school. He remained silent and did not learn to speak English.

Results with Hameeda and Ashok suggest that if children are not helped to communicate verbally until they have learnt enough English to do so at school, they may not do so at all. By the time such children acquire enough English to use it to communicate, they and their teachers are accustomed to them being passive at school, they have fallen into undemanding routines. The child's poor language skills are attributed by teachers to the child's disability, rather than to the teachers' poor linguistic understanding, or to the school being a linguistically disabling environment. Ashok's mother provided him with a lot of encouragement to talk at home, so that, although he did not speak at school, he became quite fluent in his MT. Hameeda, however, had not been encouraged to speak at home until my intervention, so might never have learnt to do so.

MT support, from the time of a child's admission in school, should prevent some children from giving up their attempts to communicate. Theoretical considerations indicate that a monolingual model of MT education in the early years, followed by a bilingual approach, may be the most effective means of teaching children to speak both languages. However, political considerations, and possibly parental wishes, make it unlikely that this could be considered. However, even the limited amount of support for MTs which I was able to provide could be seen to bring benefits.

10.4 Assessment Issues

The need for bilingual and culturally appropriate assessment has been stressed for several years, but is still hardly normal practice (Desforges, 1995).

Most of the children I studied were reported to be unable to speak in any language at the time of school entry. However, some of the children started attending the nursery at the age of two years, an age at which lack of spoken language alone is not sufficient developmental delay to indicate severe learning difficulties. It was not clear to what extent parents were enabled to be involved in the assessment procedure, or whether school placement was as a response to their perception of their child's needs, rather than the recommendation of professionals.

Parents have difficulties in communicating with professionals, even when interpreters are provided or parents understand English (Chapter 5). However, experience with the detailed profile (Dewart & Summers, 1989) shows mothers giving thoughtful answers, where questions are specifically directed to examples of how a child communicates or responds. Where questions are more general, in my experience parents may say that their child cannot talk if his speech is not clear enough to be understood by strangers, although he communicates in ways that his family understands.

Bilingual assessment alone does not take into account cultural, sub-cultural or individual differences in child development patterns resulting from child rearing practices. Where professionals recognise that a child's development is not following the pattern usual in the majority culture, the most effective response may not be to attempt to remediate this by rapid admission to a special school, or even into an integrated nursery setting. The child may make better progress if allowed to continue to develop within the home culture. Some children's potential for development is likely to be underestimated. Even after several months in an assessment placement a child from an ethnic minority home may still be going through a 'silent' period or be suffering emotional effects from submersion in a strange environment. Unfortunately, inflexibility in the education system means that a child is likely to remain in the SLD school even if she later progresses to the extent that another type of educational provision would be more appropriate. In this situation the child does not have appropriate peer models, and may suffer from inappropriate teacher expectations.

10.5 Teachers' Attitudes to Bilingualism and Minority Children

Some schools have adapted to provide a cultural framework in harmony with that of children's homes (Chapters 3 & 4); yet many teachers have attitudes towards bilingualism which lead to an unfavourable view of the consequences of bilingual education. Teachers' attitudes are crucial in determining whether children may be enabled to use their MT in school. While I did not set out formally to study teachers' views, many clearly had a negative view of children's bilingualism, and thought that MTs should be 'replaced' by English as quickly as possible. Further study of teachers' views could try to separate their attitudes towards language and culture from their attitudes to disability. I felt that the attitudes of some teachers were based less on traditional 'racism', than on their view of the children as 'disabled', having '*Severe* Learning Difficulties'. Such children could not also have another 'identity' as a member of an ethnic group, but should be helped to acquire the majority community norms of behaviour. Personal Construct Psychology (Kelly, 1955), might be effective in further exploring attitudes to 'bilingualism', 'ethnic minorities', 'Pakistan', 'disability', 'learning difficulties'.

Teachers need greater knowledge about language and its acquisition (Cox, 1991) and about bilingualism (Martin, 1995). They need to learn the extent to which their assumptions about what children need to learn, and about family values, are culturally biased rather than universal. Most of all they must be encouraged to develop sensitivity to the individual needs of children and their families. Lack of such awareness in the school prevented me from establishing a general practice of using the language skills of bilingual assistants, students and volunteers. Yet those teachers who did facilitate their helpers to use MTs with the children found it a valuable experience, for themselves as well as the children.

The increasing pressures and demands on teachers hardly encourage them to browse among research literature. Attractive forms of communication should be utilised, showing the trend of research findings, with practical classroom points to note, yet without over-simplifying or 'talking down' to teachers.

10.6 Providing Information to Parents

Most of the mothers who were already providing their child with a communicative, interactive environment were interested to receive more information. Hameeda's mother, who did not interact with her child because she thought she was too disabled to understand, changed her behaviour dramatically on learning that Hameeda could talk. The other mothers did not make significant changes of interaction practice with their children. Some were worried about the effects of their child speaking a language other than English, others did not think it appropriate for mothers to talk to their children until they could respond.

Video proved a useful tool for showing parents the skills their own children achieved in school, and showing teachers the skills achieved at home. It produced a dramatic change in one family's behaviour. It was also useful for promoting group discussion of child-rearing practices. Two groups of viewers had vigorous discussions afterwards, although it was not clear that the specific language-related messages had been understood.

It is doubtful whether external agencies can, or should, change family structures; however, opportunities for mothers to meet together and discuss such issues may help them formulate their own solutions. Mothers, in groups, welcomed the opportunity to discuss the changes in their life as a result of migration, and how this affected their ideas and practices regarding child-rearing.

There were clear limitations in the video's effectiveness as a means of communicating new ideas to mothers without education. One mother watched videos regularly, but only to 'look at the fashion' and listen to the music. She did not follow a story line. Watching my video, she responded to visual images, e.g. a home shopping catalogue, but not to the intended message.

10.7 Suggested Approaches to Facilitate Bilingual Support in Schools

At present the low number of teachers belonging to ethnic minorities makes it difficult for special schools to employ a substantial number of teachers from the same ethnic and linguistic communities as their pupils. Resources need to be available to provide specialist training to members of ethnic minorities who wish to make a career in special education.

Nevertheless, where teachers are not available, other possibilities are open. While schools may still be provided with staff additional to their own budget, from Section 11 resources, it is increasingly important for schools to look at ways of employing more bilingual ancillary staff. If headteachers and governing bodies are motivated to do so they can explore ways to ensure that members of the community they wish to target are aware of opportunities for employment e.g. by advertising in media which are accessed by members of ethnic minority groups.

Once the school has some bilingual members of staff these may spend part of the time supporting and encouraging parents, volunteers and students to use their bilingual skills within the school. Teachers need to demonstrate that they recognise the value of bilingual skills, and are ready to learn.

The monolingual teacher, who is ready to learn from bilingual colleagues and from parents, can learn some basic phrases to enable her to respond appropriately to children if they use their MT. I was able to do this with some children from Bengali speaking families, after instruction from parents.

Children will benefit from MT support at all ages. However, it is particularly vital in the early stages, where a child's acquisition of basic communication skills will be facilitated.

I found houseplay to be a particularly effective activity for encouraging use of MT for young children. Talking to the child, in her MT, describing what she was doing, or what she was looking at, without demanding a response, often resulted in the child joining in by making some comments. Older children may not respond at first to a teacher who tries to use some words of their language, if they have not previously heard their MT used at school. However, they would benefit from MT support to facilitate cognitive development when new skills are introduced.

While it may be easy for a school to support some minority languages, there may be others where it is difficult, because the minority community is very small, pressures on community members, such as refugee groups, or because of cultural restrictions of the movement of women. This should not prevent support from being made available where it can be done. An ethos of acceptance of minority languages can be communicated to the child and his family, making it more likely that the family will themselves provide support. A policy of *inclusive education* would enable children to be educated within their home locality, where there may be other pupils belonging to the same linguistic community. However, as seen in Section 2.3.4, teachers will need to plan carefully to ensure that the child with special educational needs has opportunities to interact with other children.

As stated in the introduction, I first became concerned to learn more about bilingualism as I was unsure about whether I was providing the most suitable environment for Nerjish, a Persian speaking child in our multilingual school in Pakistan. After making this study, I would not modify my bilingual approach; I would instead, in such a situation, increase my work with her family, especially encouraging her siblings to provide appropriate opportunities for interaction.

10.8 Recommended Goals and Action

To meet the educational needs and legal entitlements of the children studied here clearly requires a steady enhancement of knowledge and awareness of bilingualism and the range of cultural variables affecting it, among teachers, educational managers, psychologists, other professionals, parents and minority community leaders. Some enhancement could be achieved with already existing resources, but this will not happen until attention at various levels is focused on the problem and potentials.

10.8.1 Home and pre-school focus:

All professionals involved in working with children from ethnic minorities should be aware of issues relating to bilingualism and cultural differences. Sensitivity is required when advising parents to use approaches in interacting with their children which differ from their 'natural' approach. Professionals should be aware of family dynamics, where mother may be under pressure from other family members which does not permit her to follow their advice.

Parents may need reassurance that it is desirable to speak to their child in their MT. Both the literature and my research found that parents, including mothers with little or no English, are still sometimes told that they should speak English to their child at home, so that the child would only have to learn one language. Information should be made available to all professionals involved with young children, and addressed directly to parents, countering this myth.

10.8.2 Classroom focus: teachers, classroom assistants, volunteers.

Teachers and other classroom workers should acquire more knowledge about language, about bilingualism and about the extent of cultural variety to be found in the families of the children they teach. They should realise that many of their ideas about children and their needs are not scientific facts, but their own cultural constructs. Books and journal articles are available on these topics: they should be made available through school libraries and teachers encouraged to read and attend relevant courses.

Teachers need to work together and share information with parents. Simply asking parents whether their child can talk may not produce accurate information about their child's abilities. The Pragmatics Profile of Early Communication Skills (Dewart & Summers, 1989), in informal translation, proved an effective ways of obtaining this information. Ongoing records should be kept of children's progress in MT skills.

Schools can help parents to develop or maintain a positive attitude to their languages by making bilingual members of staff available to see parents when they visit, or contact the school by telephone. Written notices in minority languages, welcoming parents and giving directions also convey a positive message, as well as displays of children's work. Such practices have been usual in mainstream schools for many years, but are not always found in special schools.

Teachers need to be aware of their attitudes to *disability* and to *ethnicity*, recognising that children have an identity other than 'a child with special educational needs'.

10.8.3 Assessment and school management focus: headteachers, governors, educational psychologists.

Other professionals and managers should have similar opportunities to those recommended for teachers to increase their knowledge and awareness of cultural variation and bilingualism.

Efforts should be made to prioritise the appointment of bilingual and culturally sensitive staff, and utilise the skills of parents, volunteers and students.

School policies should be refocussed to support MT development. This should be included in school development plans.

Considerable effort should be made to ensure that parents are fully informed of issues regarding children's assessment and school placement, and that parents are enabled to play a full part in this.

10.8.4 Policy, research , advisory and professional training focus: educational researchers, trainers, professional organisations, LEA advisers, community leaders.

Policies should be refocussed to support MT development.

Systematic programmes of training for teachers and for classroom assistants are needed. Bilingual workers would benefit from training to enable them to use their skills effectively. Monolingual teachers and bilingual ancillaries could be trained to work more effectively as teams. Interpreters working with parents, whether in educational, health or social service contexts, need training in background issues related to families having a child with special educational needs.

Initial teacher training needs more focus on child language development, on the needs of bilingual children and those with special educational needs.

Research is needed on a broad range of issues related to bilingualism and children learning to live in two cultures. This would include different patterns of language acquisition found in different communities.

Within schools the effects of more frequent MT support, and the effectiveness of different ways of providing this support, need to be investigated, as do the cognitive effects of MT support to older children or those with more advanced development. The effects of including bilingual children with more severe delays in development in mainstream education need to be reported, so that comparison may be made with children attending 'special' provision.

More research needs to be done on finding effective methods of providing information for mothers, and of enabling families to communicate confidently with the school. Approaches to adapting school practices, so that they provide more effective ways of building on children's experiences at home need to be developed, both in mainstream and special schools. Parents' views and priorities about education for their children with special educational needs also deserve study.

Research is also needed on teachers' attitudes, their self-awareness, and exploring methods for changing these. The methods of Personal Construct Psychology may provide a tool for doing this, and to explore ways of enabling mothers to provide more effective support for their children within the resources and constraints of their own beliefs.

10.8.5 Media and campaign focus: community groups, politicians, journalists, campaigning groups.

Leaders of ethnic minority communities should become more aware that some children belonging to their communities have special educational needs. They may increase understanding of these children's needs by informative articles in the minority language media. These leaders should realise that children's needs may not be fully met in present circumstances. They may choose to take political action or to increase awareness of issues through the media or campaigns.

APPENDIX 1. LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE FAMILIES

The languages spoken by families involved in this study include Urdu, Pushto, Punjabi, Mirpuri and Bengali.

1. *Bengali* is a member of the Eastern branch of the Indic group of the Indo-European language family, widely spoken in Bangladesh, where it is the official language, now known as Bangla, and in the West Bengal province of India, which includes Calcutta. Standard Bengali is the medium of education both in Bangladesh and West Bengal, and has a substantial literature, with its own script derived from Sanskrit. Many of the families originating from Bangladesh speak 'Sylhetti', dialects of Bengali spoken in the Sylhet region of Bangladesh. Many features of Sylhetti differ from standard Bengali, but it has no written form or literature, and is not recognised in Bangladesh as a separate language. Many Bengali speakers also know some Urdu.

2. *Pushto* is a member of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. Spoken in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan, it is also an official language of Afghanistan. Pushto speakers are found in every city of Pakistan as there is a tradition of migrant labour and trade from NWFP. Pushto has little official status and is not an official medium of education in Pakistan. It has an extensive literature, written in a modified Arabic script, produced on both sides of the border with Afghanistan. There are many dialects of Pushto, but they are all mutually comprehensible. One family included in this study speak the 'standard' Yusufzai dialect; others speak Khattak and Peshawar dialects, which are all familiar to the writer.

3. *Urdu - Hindi, Punjabi and other languages of the region.*

Standard forms of these languages are mutually intelligible. Khubchandani (1983) describes the area where Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi are spoken as a "fluid zone" - people identify themselves as speakers of one or other language by non-linguistic criteria. Various non-literary languages and dialects are spoken, some restricted to use by particular castes, speakers switching the form of language according to context. In India, Urdu is largely identified with Muslims, Hindi with Hindus and Punjabi with Sikhs.

3.1 *Urdu.* Grierson (1919-27) placed Urdu as a member of the Central group of the Indo-European language family. It is the official language of Pakistan, but spoken by less than 10% of the population as their mother tongue (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 1990). In Pakistan Urdu is the main language of primary and secondary education, along with English; in the province of Sind, Sindhi is also used as a medium of education. Other regional languages are not officially used as the medium of education; some teachers do use them informally for explaining work, when pupils do not understand their Urdu textbook. Urdu is also spoken in India by Muslims in Delhi, in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and Hyderabad. In everyday speech it would be barely distinguishable from Hindi were it not for expressions derived from religion - which include greetings, and interjections which sprinkle conversation. Literary forms of Hindi use words and constructions taken from Sanskrit, while literary Urdu borrows from Persian and Arabic. Speakers define themselves as speakers of Urdu or Hindi according to religion, Muslims identifying themselves as Urdu speakers and Hindus as Hindi speakers. The written scripts of Urdu and Hindi are different, Urdu script being an adaptation of Persian and Arabic, while Hindi script is related to Sanskrit.

The term 'Khairiboli' is sometimes used as a neutral term to include both spoken forms (Khubchandani, 1983). This is the name for the dialect spoken in an area close to Delhi. It is now preferred to the term 'Hindustani', used during the time of British rule in India.

Masica (1991, p.29) refers to attempts by partisans to establish the priority of their form of language. Advocates of Urdu maintain that Hindi was artificially developed from Urdu by Hindu scholars removing elements of other languages and replacing them with forms derived from Sanskrit. Hindi partisans regard Urdu as a form of Hindi corrupted by elements from Persian and Arabic; (other writers have included Turkish). Masica states that Urdu writers until about 1800 referred to their language as Hindi, further confusing the issue. He also refers (p.461) to the more recent suggestions that modern standard Urdu/Hindi is based on a Punjabi dialect rather than an earlier language distinct from Punjabi.

Within Pakistan, Urdu is the official language. Though not indigenous to the geographical area of Pakistan, it was the language of refugees from India at Partition in 1947. Kazi (1987) describes changing attitudes to language and ethnicity in Pakistan, as demonstrated by changes in the policy of language of education and in the contents of the Pakistan Studies curriculum taught in schools and colleges as laid down by the government. He argues that at various times during the history of Pakistan the government has tended to devalue the indigenous languages: only Sindhi is widely read amongst its speakers or used as a medium of instruction in schools.

3.2 *Punjabi*. The Punjab region was partitioned between India and Pakistan, so that both nations now have a Punjab Province. Linguistic identity there continues to be associated with religious or political affiliation. Sikhs describe themselves as Punjabi speakers, while Muslims ***using the same spoken form of language*** often describe themselves as Urdu speakers, and Hindus as Hindi speakers. Hindi and Punjabi scripts are distinct though both derived from Sanskrit. When literate, people use the form appropriate to their religious community. Most forms of Punjabi are mutually comprehensible with Urdu-Hindi (Romaine, 1989).

Romaine records that following Independence, Hindu leaders in India wished to regard Urdu and Punjabi as 'dialects' of Hindi, while Shackle (1979, p.198) points out that in Pakistan, Punjabi was officially regarded for some time as a dialect of Urdu - and that this is still a commonly held view. Punjabi has many lexical and grammatical features in common with Urdu-Hindi, the greatest difference being the tonality which occurs in Punjabi, where an 'h' occurs in Urdu-Hindi (Shackle, 1979).

Within the Indian Punjab, various dialects are spoken. Towards the East these blend gradually with Hindi (Zograph, 1982), but the dialect spoken in Amritsar and westward (much of this area now being in Pakistan) has become the standard written form, which in India has the status of an official language and is used in education. Shackle indicates that, in India, Punjabi advocates may discourage study of the varieties of Punjabi, preferring to emphasise Punjabi unity and to stress the features which distinguish it from Hindi. Supporters of Punjabi are thus unlikely to research dialect differences - nor are those who hold the language in little esteem.

In Pakistan there is no standard form of Punjabi. A written form, usually using modified Arabic script, is accepted only by a small intellectual minority. Most Punjabi speakers are unaware that it is possible to write their language. Punjabi is spoken in the central and eastern part of Pakistan's Punjab Province. Seraiki is spoken in the southern part of the province and Lahnda, Hindko and other terms are used to refer to the languages/dialects of the north and west. Crystal (1987) regards Punjabi as belonging to the Western Indic branch of the Indo-European family, although some Indian writers, following Grierson, place it with Urdu and Hindi, thus separating it from the Lahnda / Hindko group.

3.3 *Lahnda / Hindko / Mirpuri*. Lahnda is a term used by some orientalists and linguists to refer to the languages spoken in Northern Punjab, parts of south west and western Kashmir (Pakistani held areas), and parts of NWFP (Peshawar and Kohat valleys, and areas east of the Indus valley bordering on Kashmir). The language used in the Mirpur area of Azad Kashmir is considered to be an Eastern form of Lahnda, as is the language spoken in parts of northern Punjab bordering Kashmir and the Salt Range. This includes the areas from which most Pakistani 'Punjabi' or 'Mirpuri' speakers in Birmingham originate.

Both Masica and Shackle question the usefulness of the term Lahnda, finding the languages/dialects referred to are too diverse to be put together as one group. Masica particularly expresses the need for more study in the Chabhali and Punchi area - the area which includes Mirpur. Grierson also referred to this area when he wrote that dialects of Lahnda, particularly in mountain areas, change rapidly, within a few miles.

The term Lahnda is, however, used in the Pakistan census (1961), and by Crystal (1987). Some Punjabi advocates wish to regard these languages as dialects of Punjabi, but there is increasing advocacy for recognition as separate languages for some, such as Hindko and Potohari. Shackle (1979, 1980) and Masica (1991) point out that no speakers of languages of the Lahnda group use the term 'Lahnda'. In Pakistan the term more familiar is Hindko, particularly in the areas where speakers live alongside Pushto speakers. Here, as Shackle (1980) notes, the term 'Hindko' means 'the Indian language' as opposed to Pushto. Grierson's explanation of the term as referring to use by Hindus is unacceptable, as it is used by many long established Muslim communities. Hindko is the term now used throughout NWFP and also in parts of Punjab, including Attock (formerly Campbellpur). In other parts of Punjab and Azad Kashmir, speakers refer to themselves as speaking 'Punjabi' or terms referring to the name of the place such as Potohari, Mirpuri or Punchi.

The comments of Illich (1981, p.27) are

particularly relevant to language in the areas under consideration:

> "From the Balkans to Indochina's western frontiers it is still rare to find a village in which one cannot get along in more than two or three tongues. While it is assumed that each person has his *patrius sermo* [native language], it is equally taken for granted that most people speak several 'vulgar' tongues, each in a vernacular, untaught way."

4. *What is the practical significance of this?* Some standardised tests are being developed for use with children from 'Punjabi-speaking homes'. These are based on Indian standard Punjabi, and thus may be inappropriate for assessing Pakistani children, especially those speaking the 'Lahnda' group of languages, even if such families describe themselves as speaking Punjabi. Moreover, some of these families say they speak Urdu. In my observation, people who claim to be speaking Urdu speak a form closer to the standard forms of Urdu or Punjabi than some others, with fewer dialect words peculiar to their village or valley; but the language of text-books is found only in a small number of homes, mostly, but not always, of professional families.

APPENDIX 2. SOME HISTORICAL GLIMPSES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Elite bilingual education

Bilingual education's long history is illustrated by Lewis (1965, 1977). He writes of the Greek empire, when Greek became the language of trade from southern India to the Western Mediterranean. An elite was provided with a Greek education, as when "Alexander arranged that 30,000 youths in Bactria should go to school to learn Greek." (Lewis, 1977,. p.47) Yet literacy (and thus, presumably, education) in local languages also continued throughout the periods of Greek and early Roman domination. In Rome the patrician classes generally preferred a bilingual Greek-Latin education for their sons. Lewis notes (1965, p.68) that

> "Cicero could address the Syracusean senate in Greek because the Romans adopted bilingualism as an essential feature of the education of their sons. From the time of Horace onwards an educated Roman was proficient in two languages."

Greek nurses and slaves were employed to introduce Greek from an early age and bilingual textbooks were produced. However, controversies developed - the Greek-speaking Romans were mocked for errors in their Latin. There was debate about the age at which the two languages were best introduced to formal education, and the difficulties for children. Lewis (1965, p.69) quotes Paulinus of Pellus (Euchar 81) complaining that

> "To have to learn two languages is all very well for the clever ones []. But for an average chap like me the need to keep up two languages is very trying and exhausting."

As the Roman empire expanded, a policy of educating the children of the local nobility resulted in Latin becoming the medium of education. Following the collapse of Roman power, formal education was largely in the hands of the Church, so in Western Europe Latin continued to be emphasised in schooling.

Education for linguistic minorities

Minority languages were often viewed unfavourably and as a threat to the purity of the majority language. Minority language speakers were sometimes gravely disadvantaged. After the French Revolution it was argued that

> "linguistical diversity had been maintained intentionally by the Old Regime in order to keep the privileged classes, who spoke the Paris dialect, in power. [The post-revolutionary government] decided to impose linguistic uniformity to achieve linguistic equality, and this has been the policy of French governments ever since." (Harding & Riley, 1986, p.28)

A government report on education in Wales, The Blue Books of 1847, described the Welsh language as

> "a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not possible to over-estimate its evil effects." (Part II, p.66, cited in Baker, 1985, p.42)

The Blue Books report resulted in the forbidding of the use of the Welsh language in schools. This was followed, however, by a period of impassioned debate. By 1922, Smith could assert (p.271), a little optimistically, that

> "no educationist now questions the supreme place of the vernacular to the first place in the curriculum, long and bitter though the controversy has been."

However, Smith's own work, using verbal tests administered in English, demonstrated, to his own satisfaction and that of a generation of researchers, that bilingual children were disadvantaged.

The early 20th century saw the comparison of the 'intelligence' of different racial groups as a respectable academic pursuit, with IQ measurements replacing the earlier attempts to estimate the 'mental capacity' of different races by the dimensions of the skull (Romaine, 1989, p.236). In fact, the measuring of skull size to seek correlations with 'intelligence' continued throughout the century. Lynn (1992) reviews studies from 1984 to 1990.

The once-fashionable Eugenics movement placed in question even the survival of groups deemed 'genetically inferior'. In this climate of thought, studies which seemed to show that low performance in IQ tests by members of minority ethnic groups was the result of inferior language and culture, or bilingualism, had at least the merit of making the apparent deficit appear remediable, rather than it being an incurable genetic endowment.

Romaine (1989, pp.100-101) refers to the use of IQ tests on immigrants to the United States in the early part of this century, when Goddard recommended the use of tests at ports of entry, resulting in the exclusion of those who 'failed' the tests. Hakuta (1986, p.21) suggests that it was Brigham's use of intelligence tests on various immigrant groups, in the decade following the First World War that resulted in the debate about bilingualism being a language 'handicap'. Brigham himself did not believe people were disadvantaged by being tested in an unfamiliar language. His opponents believed they were (Romaine, 1989 p.101), and drew the conclusion that minority languages were 'handicapping'.

Following this period, studies were made of the effects of bilingualism on children's cognitive abilities, 'mental instability' and vocabulary. Some researchers were supporters of MT education, while others thought that education should be in the language of the majority community or elite.

Language research in Wales from the 1920s to 1950s was directed largely to comparing the results on a variety of IQ tests, of groups of children, selected on the basis of language. At this time Welsh was still regarded in most communities as a low-status language. From Smith (1922), and Saer (1923) to Lewis (1959), most studies seemed to show bilingual children at a disadvantage. This period of work is open to many criticisms - tests were administered in English, the weaker language of the bilingual pupils, and poor results were thought to 'prove' their inferior abilities. Children's 'weakness' was particularly evident in 'verbal' tests conducted in English.

Lewis (1959) was ready to criticise earlier tests for looking only at results of verbal tests administered in English. Using other tests which measured non-verbal skills, he found less significant differences, or no difference, between bilingual English and Welsh-speaking children and monoglot English-speaking children. Lewis's own study (1959) took ten-year-old children from 10 schools, placing them in 4 groups in "order of decreasing 'Welshness'". On testing with a non-verbal IQ test, the results appeared to show the English-monolingual children at a clear advantage. As a possible explanation for poorer results of Welsh-speaking children, including those who were in fact virtually Welsh monolinguals, Lewis (p.21) suggested that

> "it may well be that the bilingual child, having to make a choice between two languages (and possibly trying to use both on occasions) tends to be slightly slower at thinking than the monoglot, and is thus penalised on all timed tests."

This followed Morrison's study of 1958 in which bilingual children's performance was significantly poorer than monolinguals on timed tests, but not when using a test that was untimed.

At no point did Lewis make any reference to the medium of instruction or cultural basis of the schools. His category of maximum "Welshness", group 1, was defined as "children whose first language is Welsh and whose knowledge of English is slight;" His second groups were those "children whose first language is Welsh but who can express themselves with a fair degree of facility in English." From his definition it would seem reasonable to consider group 1 as monolingual Welsh-speakers, instead of regarding them as the most 'bilingual'.

Similar methodological weaknesses were present in other studies, before 1960, of minority language speakers from several other countries. Romaine (1989, pp.101-103) reviews work from the USA in the same period which showed similar results. The arguments put forward seemed to be in favour of providing a monolingual education in the dominant language, as it was the minority languages rather than bilingualism that were seen as disadvantageous.

In 1962, Peal & Lambert published the results of their studies showing cognitive advantages to be related to bilingualism, heralding a new era for studies of bilingualism. Nevertheless, Braun & Klassen in 1972 still felt they were able to 'demonstrate' that the language of monolingual children was 'superior' to that of bilingual children, on the basis of testing the bilinguals only in their second language.

While indigenous and immigrant minorities were considered at a disadvantage through their 'bilingualism', in some colonised countries a more enlightened view seems to have been held. Malherbe in South Africa published in 1946 his report on a survey showing that children attending bilingual schools in which they were initially taught in their first language and later in both, made better progress in the second language than those attending monolingual schools - while their first language was unimpaired (Malherbe, 1946, 1960). This referred to English/Dutch bilingualism, rather than that of African languages.

In India as early as 1926, West produced a critique of the work of Saer and Smith, demonstrating that they had shown little other than that children benefit from MT education (pp.85-89). In calling for a MT education system in Bengal he quoted sources from South Africa, America and India, arguing for the benefits of MT education (pp.75-76). This followed more than a century of debate about the language medium of education in Bengal, as described by Sinha (1964). The issues were clearly alive in some unexpected times and places, including colonial settings not often regarded as enlightened. The first report of a 'School for All Nations' at Malacca in 1834, run by a Christian mission, asserted that

> "Our fundamental principle, that of teaching English through the medium of the native languages, has been kept steadily in view, and has become a practical rule of easy and constant application, attended with the happiest results. It not only makes the attainment of our difficult language much easier to a native boy, but leads him to a more thorough knowledge, and correct use, of his own language, and affords him a good exercise of mental discipline." (First Report, 1835)

More than a century later, UNESCO still found it necessary to issue the advice that education should to be provided in the MT of all children and "extended to as late a stage in education as possible." (UNESCO 1953, p.48)

Other writers found bilingual children prone to 'Mental instability'. This was thought to result from internal stress arising within one person having two incompatible systems of thought. Some interpretations of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis expressed the view that different languages resulted in different ways of classifying experience and perceiving reality. Cummins (1984) refers to Jensen's (1962) description of the bilingual child as lacking self-confidence and a sense of security. Jensen believed this could lead to 'extreme introversion' or to antisocial aggressiveness, and sometimes to schizophrenia.

That the research studies of the early period showed many bilingual children having emotional difficulties did not surprise Cummins (1984, p.101). "Children were made to feel that it was necessary to reject the home culture in order to belong to the majority group and often ended up unable to identify fully with either cultural group."
However, although the situation in Wales has now changed, many children of minority communities still attend schools where the culture of their home is not understood or valued, with negative emotional effect (Trueba, 1989, 1991).

A further issue of concern has been capacity for learning language. Appel & Muysken (1987, p.104) refer to Macnamara's "Balance hypothesis", proposed in 1966. They report its claim that

> "human beings have a certain potential, or perhaps neural or physiological capacity for language learning. If an individual learns more than one language, knowing one language restricts the possibilities for learning other languages. More proficiency in one language implies fewer skills in other ones."

During the earlier studies, the focus of language study was on vocabulary, so there was concern about the number of words a bilingual child had the capacity to learn. Lewis (1959, p.17) mentions in a footnote that

> "E.M. Barke and D.E. Parry-Williams, for example, reported that the bilingual children did not have so great a vocabulary in either language as that of the monoglot children."

This seems to have been regarded as an explanation why bilingual children appeared to perform less well on verbal tests translated into their mother tongue than monolingual children did on the untranslated version.

Abudarham (1987, p.19) refers to researchers from Wales in the early part of this century, who concluded that "the vocabulary levels of monoglots were superior to those of DL [dual language] peers." However, more recent evidence (ibid., p.96; Romaine, 1989, p.182) points to bilingual children acquiring as many verbal concepts as monolinguals - but some of these may be expressed in only one of their languages. Macnamara's hypothesis and related views are no longer accepted in academic circles, but they are sometimes confused with the concept of 'semilingualism' (see Section 3.5.2).

APPENDIX 3. POLITICS & BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Planning for bilingual or minority language children has been a political issue throughout its it history. At the Imperial Education Conference, 1923, Dr. W.J.Viljeon made it "a cardinal principle that the problem should be regarded as educational and that politics should be excluded from it." (West, 1926, p.13) Nevertheless, policies regarding bilingual children have continued to be made on ideological grounds with little attention to the results of educational research - unless those results supported, and perhaps had been influenced by, the prevailing ideology.

Policy-making is usually affected by public attitudes, especially within democratic countries with a tradition of public debate. In the USA, a period of encouragement for bilingual education has been followed by the growth of the 'English-only' movement (Hornberger, 1990; Lyons, 1990). Although a survey reported by Huddy & Sears (1990) found a majority of the population to be in favour of a bilingual education policy, respondents who were well informed about the nature of the programmes, including those living in Hispanic areas, were actually more likely to oppose bilingual policies.

Financial resources may limit special provision for minority groups: democratically elected governments are wary of introducing or maintaining models for minority education which appear to require additional financial resources. (Paulston, 1990; Otheguy, 1986; Saifullah Khan, 1980, p.74 and footnote on remarks by teachers' Unions).

Equal Opportunities and Integration

Education in minority languages may be regarded as restricting the future development of speakers of these languages to within their own community. In parts of Germany, the programme of MT education for families of migrant workers is regarded as encouraging repatriation (Romaine, 1989). In Germany, as with black African education in South Africa under apartheid, the assumption has been made that minority language education is of a lower standard than that provided in higher status languages.

Paulston (1990) argues that migrant communities will eventually switch to using the dominant language of their adopted nation - and that bilingual education in such a situation is not necessary. She perhaps assumes that minority groups themselves regard assimilation as desirable, and that it will take place rapidly if allowed by the majority. While this may be true of some communities, it does not appear to be a general rule for all minority groups, including the Pakistani community in UK (see Appendix 5).

To what level can minority language education be provided?

Some countries provide educational opportunities through to higher education in all their official languages, e.g. Belgium, Switzerland, Canada, and to a lesser extent, India. Yet provision of higher education in minority languages requires considerable financial and human resources, as well as appropriate materials. The former can be allocated quite quickly, if there is sufficient political will, but the latter cannot be pulled out of a hat.

Macauley's much-quoted Education Minute of 1835 (cited in Bary et al, 1958, pp. 596-601) committing government education in British India to the medium of English against strong opposition from the Orientalist party, was based partly on the fact that textbooks of modern knowledge were available in English, but decades would pass before they could be made available in the vernacular languages. With the passage of 160 years, and after nearly 50 years of political Independence, the language of higher education in Pakistan remains English.

The gap between the availability of up-to-date knowledge via textbooks in English and via textbooks in Urdu is greater now than in 1835, and this argument has effectively limited the Government of Pakistan's periodic efforts to enforce the extension of Urdu-medium education from secondary to higher education, and from humanities to modern science. As long as doctors, engineers, pilots, economists and scientists need English for their professional training, Pakistan's elite and its aspiring middle-class will give their children a flying start by sending them to private English-medium kindergartens, primary and secondary schools. Throughout the 1980s, efforts to alter this situation foundered on the fact that the people with political power in Pakistan, however strongly they favoured Islamisation and indigenisation of education, usually wanted their own children to have English-medium education.

Planners may feel intuitively that it is better to start the use of the dominant language from an early stage. Educational planners are seldom specialists in linguistic and cognitive development, whereas they themselves have usually been educated in the dominant language of their country. It may seem obvious to them education should proceed in the dominant language from the earliest possible age, rather than by transfer at a later age. Where the education system is already bilingual, rather than exclusively first language, these questions are less urgent - but issues of time allocation, differences with age, type of bilingual education, need to be considered.

UNESCO, since 1953, has been calling for primary education to be provided in the first language of the child, on the basis of research and experience showing that this will give a better foundation, whatever the language of later provision. Nevertheless, Abdulaziz (1991, p.80) notes that Tanzania is reconsidering its policy of Swahili primary education, because the standard of secondary and university education, conducted in English, was dropping. Serpell (1993) also gives as one of the reasons for the adoption of English as the sole language of education in Zambia, the need to start early in the language of further education. He shows how this focus on higher education has resulted in a system of education that is inappropriate to the economic and vocational needs of most of the population. In fact, the adoption of English in Zambia occurred after independence - an earlier policy had been one of conducting primary education in regional languages. Where colonial powers have followed such a policy, they are of course later accused of deliberately withholding modern knowledge from the colonised people - an argument also directed, by modernising Indians, against the Orientalist party in early 19th century India.

Hamers & Blanc (1989, p.189) refer to African countries such as Burundi where, on transition from primary to secondary school, the child is expected to switch from monolingual education in one language to monolingual education in a second language (French or English) without any preparation, and with obvious setbacks to confidence and progress. In a small country such as Cameroon, where two hundred languages are in use and economic resources very limited, even Baetens Beardsmore (1992) an advocate of MT education, regards the provision of mother tongue education for all as providing insurmountable difficulties.

Assimilation or a Multiethnic Society?

Where rapid assimilation of minority communities is considered politically desirable, the replacement of minority or migrant languages by that of the majority is seen as an important factor in the process of eliminating a separate cultural identity. Education may be used as a tool to achieve this, and would generally be monolingual in the majority language. Bilingual education is acceptable to assimilationists only if used as a short term means of facilitating later assimilation into the monolingual system.

In many developing countries a single language of education has been adopted as a focus of national unity. Abdulaziz (1991, p.80) writes from Tanzania of the feeling that "teaching in the other mother tongues might have a negative effect on the policy of national integration and a common political culture." Khan (1989) calls for a change in the Pakistan Government policy of Urdu - the MT of 10% of the people - as the medium of education throughout Pakistan, and asks why national unity must be based on the sufferings of five-year-olds. Yet the practical difficulties in South Asia are such as no planner can contemplate with ease. Five-year-olds in Pakistan may have Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Urdu, Baluchi as major MTs, with some five million speaking Hindko, Brahui, Gujerati, Shina, Balti, Khowar, Kohistani, Kafiri or Kashmiri. India has a policy of 'mother tongue' education - but has redefined the term 'mother tongue' to include only 47 languages which may be used as the medium of instruction in schools, out of a total of 1,652 listed in the Census of India, 1962 (Pattanayak, 1981).

The USSR had an official policy of linguistic freedom. Serdyuchenko (1966, p.41) claimed that there was a policy of educating children in their 'native' language and that "school studies in the USSR are conducted in more than 70 languages". He cited Lenin as having rejected the notion of a State Language, instead instituting a principle of equality of languages and nations. Sutton (1988, p.104) points out that although "every Soviet child has a right to education in the native tongue" the Russian language was necessary for higher education and in practice "many accommodations are made" - in areas such as Dagistan where a population of 1.7 million speak 30 languages. Homan (1992, p.70) describes the Eastern European model where 'basics' are taught in the morning and cultural activities take place in the afternoon, and finds such a model appropriate for the provision of minority language and culture.

Similarly Harrell (1993) reports that China has an official policy of encouraging regional minority languages. He finds an uneasy coexistence between this policy and the traditional view of the Han (the majority community in China) having a 'civilising' role towards the other communities. The languages of the Han, though mutually incomprehensible, share a single written form and are all considered to have high status. The attitude to (non-Han) minority languages is illustrated by Zuo (1983) who reports that the Jinuo language was unsuitable for cognitive tasks and thus for use in schools. Harrell points out that the system for registering minority groups has resulted in groups of speakers of a diverse variety of languages being classified as a single ethnic group - and therefore only one must become the 'standard', and be used for education.

The USA. In the USA, in 1963 a bilingual education programme was developed at Coral Way elementary school in Miami. This school had a number of pupils from Cuban refugee background. Although parents were "economically and educationally advantaged, many of their children performed poorly in Miami's monolingual English school programs" (Lyons, 1990, p.68) This Coral Way school provided bilingual education to both English speaking and Spanish speaking children in an integrated setting, and children achieved excellent academic results (ibid., 1990; Secada, 1990). Other schools in Dade County, Florida, then developed bilingual programmes (Romaine, 1989). A number of other pilot bilingual education projects for Spanish speaking children were developed in the 1960s and cited in hearings for the 1967 Bilingual Education Act which called for bilingual education for Hispanic children. However, before the law was finally passed, it had changed from being directed towards providing a bilingual and bicultural education for all children, to being 'compensatory' programmes for children 'deficient' in English skills, and largely from low income families. Lyons commented (p.68) that "The native-language instruction thus provided was not designed to help the child's native language but only to allow children to progress in academic subjects while acquiring English."

Students of Chinese origin in San Francisco took legal action in 1970 alleging infringement of their Civil Rights through unequal educational opportunities (Lau v. Nichols). On appeal they won their case, resulting in the legal requirement for additional provision for language minority students. Federal guidelines were then produced (the 'Lau Remedies') which recommended the setting up of transitional bilingual programmes (see next section) which enabled children to be taught through the medium of their first language until able to 'benefit entirely from education in English' (Romaine, 1989, p.224)

Trueba (1989) refers to O'Malley's Children's English and Services Study (1982) which found that in the USA in 1980 there were 600 federally funded bilingual programmes in 79 languages reaching 315,000 children (18.5% of the estimated 1.7 million children speaking minority languages). Nevertheless Cazden & Snow (1990, Preface, p.9) comment that many children in the USA are "only transient bilinguals - monolingual speakers of a home language before they go to school and monolingual speakers of English 12 years later."

During the 1980s, President Reagan expressed strong views against maintenance of minority languages (Romaine, 1989, p.225; Casanova, 1991, p.172) and attempted to cut the federal support for 'transitional' bilingual education (long-term bilingual education being ineligible for support). The 'English Only' movement developed, opposing bilingual education and calling for English to be the only language recognised for official purposes. Imhoff (1990, p.55), a leader of 'U.S. English', a political group opposed to bilingual education, writes of bilingual educators rejecting and condemning "the unifying, dynamic, cosmopolitan culture of America in favour of the separatist, atavistic, changeless, exclusive cultures of ethnic groups." He argues that ethnic leaders call for language maintenance only to maintain their personal power base. Children are "reduced to pawns in their game" (ibid., p.61).

The State of California, passed a constitutional amendment in November 1986 (Proposition 63) making English the official language of the state. This "charges the legislature with preserving and enhancing the role of English as the common language of the state, requiring that no law may be passed that ignores or diminishes this role" (MacKaye, 1990, p.136). Herman (1993, p.106) reports that Dade County, whose early programmes of bilingual education were regarded as a successful model, now has "the strongest English Only ordinance in the United States."

In a rapidly-changing world where people feel there are few certainties to hold on to, the demands even of a small minority can seem threatening to the less stable members of the majority community. Some feel that minority demands for maintenance of first language are in effect a refusal to learn English, - so bilingual education is perceived as "a crutch for lazy students" or a plot to "create a separatist non-English speaking community" (MacKaye, 1990, p.139). The results of research have been dismissed by groups such as 'U.S. English' and replaced by intuitive statements about children learning a new language more easily at a young age and if they are in a situation divorced from any contact with their first language (Imhoff, 1990).

The US Federal Department of Education commissioned a study by Baker & de Kanter into the effectiveness of bilingual education. They were specifically looking at programmes of transitional bilingual education (Secada, 1990, p.86). They found insufficient evidence to demonstrate that transitional bilingual programmes were more effective than other forms of education - which was taken to mean second language medium education. Willig (1985) however analyzed some of their material further and found very different results, which demonstrated that children achieved more effective learning in bilingual programmes when a broader range of academic criteria were used, and where the experimental and comparison groups were correctly matched. The US General Accounting Office was then asked by Congress to examine the research on bilingual education. A panel of experts was consulted, a majority of whom found the research evidence favoured bilingual education (e.g. Secada, Mulhauser, Casanova). Opponents of bilingual education, however, point out that the majority of the experts consulted were known to be proponents of bilingual education (Imhoff, 1990).

Mulhauser (1990) points out that the education of children who speak minority languages has two goals - learning English and making academic progress in other subjects. While the effectiveness of bilingual education programmes as a means of teaching English was debated at length, children's abilities to progress in other aspects of their education was not given such full consideration, as there have been few evaluations of children's learning of subjects other than language, in bilingual as opposed to other situations. Similarly the future outcomes of bilingual education, as discussed by Secada (1990) have not been studied. Mulhauser points out that, finally, it was the issue of *feasibility* of providing first language education for all, rather than the issue of *effectiveness* of different types of education, which was the major deciding factor in US Congress voting to transfer a proportion of funding from bilingual education to second language programmes.

Media debate continues on an ideological basis, leading Cummins (1991c, p.184) to suggest that dominant sectors of US society are committed to maintaining the social status quo to the extent that

> "the more empirical evidence is produced that certain types of programmes result in personal and academic growth among minority students the more vehement will be the denial of this evidence and rejection of these programs."

Lyons (1990, p.79) points to the need for foreign language teaching in the U.S.A., where the present inefficient use of resources results in a system of monolingual students attending expensive colleges and graduating knowing less of their target language than bilingual kindergarten children - for whom the objective is to replace their language with English.

Europe. Within Europe, racial tensions and arguments over bilingualism have not generally reached the level of embattlement and legislation seen in the USA; yet the 'ethnic cleansing' in former Yugoslavia and language struggles in some former parts of the USSR suggest that the North American experiences should be given careful consideration.

Most European countries have immigrant communities. Others also have communities of 'guest workers' whose presence in the country is temporary. The 1977 EEC Directive on the Education of Migrant Workers (77/486/EEC) required Member States to provide teaching of their first language to children of migrant workers. Poulter (1986, p.178) points out that this applies only to children of other EEC nationalities. However, the EEC Council of Ministers agreed in 1977 that these benefits should also be extended to children of non-EEC nationals, though this agreement carries no legal obligation.

McLaughlin & Graf (1985) describe a range of types of schooling in Germany, with the school attended depending on the policy of the area where the child lives. Some ethnic minority children are included in mainstream classes, some attend special classes following the normal curriculum or transitional schools providing second language teaching prior to integration in German-medium schools. Others have MT instruction with additional second language teaching - sometimes leading to transfer at the end of the primary stage, but sometimes continuing this model through secondary education. Some children attend MT schools following the curriculum of their country of origin.

In the 'Bavarian Model', children receive MT education until they reach the fifth grade - on the basis that they "cannot learn a second language and simultaneously learn subject matter in that language" (Ibid., 1985, p.246). This, however, is seen by many people as segregationist, because in practice, such children are denied the opportunity of entering an academic stream for secondary education and their certificates are not so well regarded by employers as those from German medium schools. The 'Krefeld Model' provides bilingual instruction, with separate German and minority language streams for some subjects, but others are taught in German to mixed groups.

Sweden provides three types of education for immigrant minorities. (Romaine, 1989, p.230; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, pp.288-9). Children may attend the ordinary Swedish class, with additional teaching either in Swedish or their MT; they may attend 'compound' classes, with both Swedish-speaking children and one other MT group only, taught by two teachers, one Swedish and one a speaker of the MT; or they may attend MT classes, with Swedish as a second language. Nevertheless, Skutnabb-Kangas (1991) writes of continuing Swedish hostility to proposals for MT education for the Finnish minority.

In Luxembourg, the normal education system is trilingual. Luxemburger is used in nursery schools. In the first year of primary school, children are introduced to German, and in the second year to French (Baetens Beardsmore & Lebrun, 1991; Kollwelter, 1993). Policies for migrant children are not coordinated. In the town of Differdange, Portuguese and Italian children have two to three hours weekly of MT lessons in which they study Arithmetic, Science, Geography. The village of Larochette provides MT courses and German as a foreign language. In Luxembourg city there are some pilot schemes. However, since 1989 there has been concern about the need to provide more suitable provision for the immigrant population and a concern to determine how MT classes should be developed (Kollwelter, 1993).

In the Netherlands children are provided with up to two and a half hours of mother tongue teaching weekly (Fase, 1993). However, Appel (1989a) shows that minority children's education in the Netherlands is hampered by teaching methods which take no account of the needs of second language learners or of different cultural experiences.

Political and social costs

Where politicians and planners feel able to take a longer-term view, the costs of supporting children's MT and minority cultures during the earlier years of their education are modest compared with the later costs of ethnic strife, and the interim costs of depressed expectations, anger, confusion, cognitive delay and unfulfilled potential of millions of children and young people, with the resultant shortfall in their economic and cultural contribution to their communities.

Comparatively few politicians seem willing to look at these longer-term human concerns. The outlook for improved MT support for children who are already in some form of 'special' provision is not therefore immediately promising. For this reason, the recommendations in the present study focus not so much on the children's rights and on humanitarian concerns, but on the possibilities for more effective and efficient use of already-existing resources.

APPENDIX 4: SOME EXAMPLES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Many different types of bilingual schools have been described in the literature. However, there have been no comparative studies of different approaches, and reports are usually written by writers who have a personal commitment to their approach.

Canadian bilingual immersion programmes are amongst the best documented. These provide bilingual education for children who are speakers of the majority language. They are taught for a period by bilingual teachers, who use only the target language (usually French). After a period of immersion, often lasting two years, the children have some lessons in English as well as some in French. This immersion aims to be an effective way of teaching fluency in a second language, but it is in no way intended to replace the dominance of the child's MT.

Elite bilingual education is provided in many countries to a small number of children. Baetens Beardsmore & Kohls (1988) describe the European schools which

> "attempt to guarantee mother-tongue education and cultural maintenance while promoting a European identity through instruction in 2, 3 and even 4 languages" (p.681)

Up to 9 languages are in use for instruction in the school. The MT is the main medium of primary education, but a second language is taught as a subject from first entry in the school. From the third year at school, physical education is taught in the second language, and sessions of creative activities such as sewing, cooking, construction, take place in multilingual groups. In secondary school the second language is used for some instruction, and a third language is introduced. By the final two years the child studies maths, philosophy, science and classical languages, and the study of their first language through the first language while other subjects are studied through the medium of the second or third language. This system requires pupils to interact with peers who are native speakers of their second and subsequent languages.

Dual language schools

Some schools for children belonging to economically weaker minority groups have tried to include children who speak the majority language as their MT, in Dual Language programmes. True 'Dual language' programmes aim that their pupils should become bilingual and biliterate in both languages.

In the USA, the Coral Way programme was set up in 1963 for Cuban refugees and English speakers. (The Cuban refugees were Spanish speakers, but unlike many Spanish speakers in USA they were not from an economically weak section of society). This school provided bilingual education to both English speaking and Spanish speaking children in an integrated setting, and children achieved excellent academic results. (Lyons, 1990; Secada, 1990). This has been followed by other programmes in which majority and minority language speakers have been educated together in schools where both languages were taught on an equal basis.

Morison (1990) describes a dual language programme in a New York school, where both Hispanic and non-Hispanic children study together, having alternate days of instruction through English and Spanish. During the early years the same, bilingual, teacher teaches throughout, alternating languages. In the junior school classes share two teachers, one for the English day, one for Spanish. The school tries to maintain a balance of equal number Spanish and English dominant children. There is a demand from white middle class parents for places, and for the programme to be extended into middle school, as the school is seen to produce excellent results.

Schools in minority language communities

Schools may, for geographical reasons, have a large majority of pupils from a minority linguistic community.

Lambert (1981, p.13) describes the St.John Valley Bilingual Education Project. The St.John Valley was home to a French speaking community in New England (USA), where 85% of families used French either as the only home language or bilingually. Prior to the project, education was provided in English. In Project schools a third of the elementary curriculum was offered in French. These were compared with control schools which continued to offer only English. The bilingually educated children did better both in English and other academic subjects than those attending the control schools.

Some schools 'separate' the languages taught by using languages on alternate days or for particular lessons. Other schools allow switching of languages, some according to defined policies, others freely. Diaz & Klingler (1991, p.181) describe a programme in Texas where teachers are encouraged to switch language as much as possible, and give all instructions in both languages.

Some schools employ bilingual teachers and pair teachers of each language where insufficient bilingual teachers are available, others use monolingual teachers for their respective lessons. Faltis and Jacobson proposed a 'New Concurrent Approach' (Faltis, 1989), in which code-switching, occurring according to clear guidelines, is an important educational tool. Using this method, both languages are supposed to be used for an equal amount of time. Teachers initiate code-switching - pupils always respond in the language used by the teacher. Complete sentences are used in a single language. Sixteen 'cues' are listed for code switching, including review of material presented in one language in another, switch to first language for explaining concepts, to gain attention or gave praise or reprimand. Teachers were trained in using this method and it appeared that they were able to learn to follow the guidelines for language use.

Holm & Holm (1990) describe a school in a Navajo reservation where children were taught bilingually. Primary classes had two teachers, one of whom used only Navajo and the other only English. Children first learnt to read in Navajo, and English was an addition - not a replacement. Maths was taught using both languages - concepts were explained in Navajo, while specialised vocabulary was in English. Navajo language skills remained ahead of English. The amount of Navajo instruction was diminished with time from two thirds in kindergarten, to ten percent by 'senior high'.

Streamed schools

Some schools provide streaming according to MT. Hornberger (1991) describes Potter Thomas School in Philadelphia, where parental choice is the deciding factor in streaming. The school has many bilingual teachers, while monolingual teachers are paired. Language use in upper grades is described as 'flexible'. However, although the aim is to teach literacy in both languages, by upper grades the aim is that all teaching other than specific Spanish literacy classes should be held in English. Hornberger points out that it is thus, for Spanish speakers a maintenance programme, rather than an enrichment programme.

The multilingual school

In some countries schools cater for speakers of several languages. May (1991) describes Richmond Road School, in Auckland , New Zealand. With 113 pupils and 18.2 staff the school has pre-school 'language nests' in Maori, Samoan and Cook Island languages, three bilingual programmes (Maori, Samoan and Cook Island) a second language unit for recent arrivals teaching English through MT, as well as a mainstream English programme. The school is divided into mixed-age 'family groups', which parents choose, the child normally staying with the same group for six years. All children are encouraged to use their MT whenever possible. Teachers of bilingual groups use the minority language for half the morning and on alternate afternoons. Children use the language of their choice in reply.

Are there sometimes benefits in separating languages?

Pacheco (1983) argued that there may be benefits to a child when a clear separation is made between instruction in her two languages - Spanish in the morning and English in the afternoon. He described a child, Elisabeth who had been exposed at home to two languages used 'in an unsystematic fashion'. Up to the age of 10 years her education had all been in English. Once she started receiving formal instruction in Spanish (her first language) her all round performance improved considerably. No other model of bilingual education was compared with this model - so the evidence points to the benefit of some education in MT rather than the superiority of one bilingual model over another.

Standard forms or home dialect?

Trueba (1989, p.59) proposes a model for education where teachers are trained in using the home language of students (including non-standard forms). Teachers do not mix languages during instruction. Initially English is used only in art, music and physical education (and English classes). The MT is used for

> "acquisition of knowledge, critical thinking skills and the pursuit of children's inquisitive search for answers related to the subject." (p.61)

At this stage the child's errors in use of her MT are never corrected and no attempt is made to develop the use of a standard form of that language. As English proficiency increases the child transfers more subjects, initially to a 'Sheltered English' programme, and then to the mainstream, but the MT continues to be taught for enrichment.

APPENDIX 5. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAKISTANI COMMUNITY IN ENGLAND

Migrant labour is a widespread feature of the Pakistani economy. Ballard (1986) reported that 2.5 million Pakistanis were working abroad, this being 10% of the adult male population. The majority of these men were working in the Arab oil states, on a temporary basis. Internal migration is also a feature of the labour market. For example, many men from the North-West Frontier Province work in Karachi.

A large proportion of the Pakistani community in England originates in the Punjab or Mirpur, Azad Kashmir (the part of Kashmir administered by Pakistan). Anwar (1985) points out that many families from these areas had already experienced displacement: the Punjabis during partition, the Mirpuris as a result of the building of the Mangla Dam, a large hydro-electric scheme. Many men from this area had been employed either in the pre-Partition army or in shipping. Ballard (1983) refers to men from Mirpur being employed as stokers in steamships since the beginning of this century. Following damage to their ships during the 1939-45 war, some found employment in munitions factories in the West Midlands and Yorkshire. After the war, as steam shipping was run down, others found work ashore. Relatives and friends from their home villages were called over to join them, and a pattern of 'chain migration' was set up (Anwar, 1985; Ballard, 1983, 1986; Shaw, 1994).

These men had, at first, a clear aim to save money in order to return to Pakistan and buy land and raise the social status of their family. There was no intention to remain permanently in England and no wish to be acculturated. Those established in England would sponsor friends and relatives to join them, loaning the cost of travel, arranging their accommodation and often helping them to find work.

Initially there was free movement between Pakistan and Britain; a man might arrange for a brother, son or other relative to take over his employment and home. Immigration restrictions eventually made this impossible. Following an Act of Parliament in 1971, sons could enter England only if accompanied by their mother. Anwar (1985) reports that Punjabis readily brought over their wives, but Mirpuris were more reluctant. Many said that they planned to bring their wives only because they feared that the option might be withdrawn later.

Ballard (1986) described how, at first, Mirpuri women came to England temporarily to facilitate their sons' entry, returning to Pakistan with their daughters after a few months. However, it was soon considered possible for families to live in Britain without needing to adopt Western ways, particularly with respect to women mantaining their traditional separation from men; so the women began to remain with their husbands. Shaw (1994) reports that Punjabi wives described being sent to join their husbands by the family in Pakistan, to prevent their husbands from forming liaisons with English women. Contrary to what might be assumed from a modern, middle-class English perspective on family, the purpose was to maintain men's links with their extended family in Pakistan by preventing them from taking up new relationships in England, rather than uniting the nuclear family in order to settle away from Pakistan and weaken ties with those remaining there.

Within the larger Pakistani communities in Britain a wide range of institutions is provided by Pakistanis themselves. Anwar (1985) mentioned shops, travel agents, women's employers, banks, taxis, doctors, cafes, motoring schools, mosques. He reported that the majority of adult Pakistanis in Rochdale had little contact with other ethnic groups. Only the professional groups and male transport workers had regular social contact with the indigenous white population. He found parents showing concern about children having social contact with white children at school.

Anwar (1985) described the central importance of maintaining links with family members in Pakistan. Men would defer making major decisions until permission was received from their father in Pakistan, and parents would refer decisions about marriages to the elders in Pakistan, this being more important than consulting the young people themselves.

While many families hoped that they would eventually return permanently to Pakistan, this has not been feasible for many. Ballard (1986) found the economy of Mirpur district stagnating and dependent on remittances from overseas. Most families during their first years abroad commissioned the construction of a new family home in their home villages, and hoped to return to set themselves up in business. However, there were few opportunities and competition was already intense between those already returned. Many people have bought land, but agricultural policies in Pakistan make it difficult to earn a living from agriculture in unirrigated areas. Ballard found that land in Mirpur is increasingly being withdrawn from production. Hopes that children educated in England would be able to obtain high status work in their home districts of Pakistan have also been dashed, as the limited number of government posts, and posts in other national institutions such as banks, were rapidly filled. Ballard (1983) links these difficulties with lack of government investment in rural areas for political reasons, and policies which exploit both the rural population and overseas migrants. He contrasts this area with the Jullundur area in India, from which many Sikh migrants in Britain originated. Development policies in this area have encouraged investment resulting in both agricultural and economic development.

Ballard (1986) noted that women in particular find it hard to readapt to life in rural Pakistan without household machinery, spending hours on laborious tasks such as collecting water from the well. Ballard (1994, p.12) also suggests that many South Asians are now reluctant to return to their place of origin as they have become accustomed to a level of personal autonomy which they would not be able to enjoy if they returned to their family home.

While they may no longer expect to return permanently, many families make regular visits to Pakistan. Many families continue to prefer to arrange marriages for their children with relatives in Pakistan. Shaw (1988) studying Pakistanis in Oxford, found them investing in England, buying properties and expanding businesses, which she thought indicated a readiness to settle. Alternatively, it could mean merely that these Pakistanis had more confidence in the stability of financial institutions in Britain than in Pakistan.

Even those families who accept that they are now permanent settlers in Britain do not generally wish to emulate what they see as a white English lifestyle. Many Asians regard British people as lacking in honour with regard to sexual morality and family responsibilities, and having poor standards of hygiene (Ballard, 1994, p.13). The behaviour of young white people, particularly regarding respect for elders, decent dress and public behaviour with members of the opposite sex, is considered shameful.

Kinship networks bring pressure on most families to conform to Pakistani norms of behaviour. However, professional Pakistanis, who are often regarded, by non-Pakistanis, as spokespersons or community leaders for their minority group, are more likely to have adopted many features of the British way of life (Anwar, 1985).

The younger generation, of Pakistani origin, have learnt to switch between the culture of their parents and that of their school and wider society. Ballard (1994) suggests that they are generally at home in both worlds, but are developing their own culture, different to that of their parents and that of the majority. Shaw (1994) finds young people maintaining, for their parents' benefit, 'a fiction' that they will move permanently to Pakistan. She found that they generally shared most of their parents' values. However, such studies may not penetrate very far into the complex of young British Pakistanis' thoughts and feelings. Lewis (1994) refers to the large numbers of young Muslims who give concern to their parents by adopting a secular 'pop-cum-bhangra' lifestyle. Many young people whose families originate from Pakistan identify themselves as 'British Muslims', but Lewis (1994) refers to the under-representation of the 16-25 age group at public worship, and the continuing preoccupation of many religious groups with issues relevant to life in Pakistan but not to young Muslims in Britain. Their lack of the linguistic skills (in Arabic, Persian and literary Urdu) necessary to study and fully participate in their family's religious traditions results in young people leaving the religious affiliations of their parents, either to join other Muslim groups or to withdraw from religious activities.

APPENDIX 6. BILINGUALISM AND THE BRAIN

Some bilingual people have been studied by neurologists in order to gain insights into the ways in which the brain processes language, and the relationship between the brain's functions and language acquisition.

Bilingual persons' brain functions have been studied and compared with those of monolinguals. These studies might have some implication for children with learning difficulties, where the brain is damaged, formed differently or delayed in maturation.

Trites (1984) described his research, from the mid 1970s, which suggested that difficulty in acquiring French through immersion was linked with delay in maturation of the temporal lobe area, a condition predictable by specific neurological tests. He believed that as many as one in five children suffered from this condition, which implied that, while they would progress normally in MT education, they would be delayed in acquiring a second language. Children so identified could begin to acquire the second language at the age of nine without any further disadvantage. This work was dismissed by Cummins (1979b, 1984), who found no evidence relating the tests used by Trites to left temporal lobe functioning, and saw no relevance in any possible relation to right temporal lobe functioning. Cummins also argued that there was no significance in the different results of the children in Trites's 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' groups. The successful performance of those children when returned to first language education was explained by Cummins as a consequence of their high IQ scores, and the requirement that they repeated a year on transfer.

It is considered an established fact that most monolinguals use mainly the *left* side of their brain for language processing. Lambert (1990) refers to research suggesting that bilinguals additionally use the *right* side, particularly during second language acquisition. Some studies show late bilinguals using the right hemisphere more than early bilinguals. Romaine (1989) finds conflicting results from her review of research. Baker (1993, p.115) refers to the analysis of previous research by Vaid & Hall (1991) which found that "differences between monolinguals and bilinguals were the exception rather than the rule."

Zatorre (1989) and Romaine (1989) refer to research demonstrating that, while among monolinguals aphasia rarely accompanies right hemisphere damage, it does so more frequently among bi- or poly-linguals. However, both note that bias may operate in the selection of reports for publication: research findings replicating previous work linking left hemisphere to aphasia might be neglected. Zatorre refers to reports of recovery of aphasics: sometimes both languages recover, sometimes only one language; in other cases, languages alter in availability. Reviewing previous studies, Zatorre, and also Whitaker, Bub & Levanter (1981), found some indication that bilinguals use certain parts of the brain for tasks involving both languages, but other areas are specific to one or other language. However Zatorre was not convinced that there was sufficient evidence to show that the right hemisphere is used in significantly different ways by monolinguals and bilinguals.

Access to language within the brain is a process little understood at present. Baker (1993, p.114) refers to Fromm (1970), who hypnotised a man who had spoken Japanese as a child but had 'forgotten' it. Under hypnosis, he was able to speak fluent Japanese. Afterwards, he was again unable to do so.

The process of switching between languages, 'deactivating' the language not in use, or using a more mixed form of language when appropriate, has also interested neurologists. Grosjean (1989) points to the inappropriateness of comparing bilinguals with monolingual 'norms', as the language not in use is rarely completely 'deactivated'.

While I know of no conclusive results which would affect approaches to developing bilingualism in children with learning difficulties, technological developments are revolutionising this field of study. It is possible that increasing knowledge will have profound implications for services to children with severe learning difficulties in the future, including new approaches to facilitating language development.

APPENDIX 7. RESPONSES TO THE 'PRAGMATICS PROFILE'

Key
x : Mother says the situation does not arise.
? : Mother had not noticed such a situation.
n.a.: Question not asked.

A. Communicative Intentions

1. *Attention Directing*

(a) To Self: How does _ gain your attention?

G1 Says "Ammi" [mummy].
G2 Taps mother's arm, uses Makaton signs for food (biscuit sign used for all foods).
G3 Says "abe".
B4 Pulling.
B5 Pulls at mother's hands, clothes and hair - often makes sounds as well.
B6 By crying, shouting "eh-eh". Calls father by saying "abba", brother "papa". Occasionally calls "ammi" for mother.
G7 Tugging.
G8 Pulls mother's clothes.
B9 Pulls mum, says "Aja" [come].
B10 Shouts.

(b) To Events, Objects, Other People: If you and _ were going along the street or walking in a park and _ saw something interesting what would she be likely to do?

G1 Would not notice.
G2 Points.
G3 Points and vocalises.
B4 Pulls mother.
B5 Points.
B6 Looks and shouts "eh-eh".
G7 Tugs and looks.
G8 Points to what she wants.
B9 Waves arms up and down or tugs and says "ahahah". If sees catsays "goodgoodboy".
B10 Points.

2. *Requesting*

(a) Request for Object. If you and _ were in the kitchen and _ saw something she wanted something to eat that was out of reach, how would she let you know?

G1 Nothing (eats only a little).
G2 Pulls clothes, points, signs.
G3 Points and pulls and uses her own word for what she wants e.g. water "bibi"; scrambled egg "wawa".
B4 Nothing.
B5 Pulls, points, says "de" [give].
B6 Points, says "oh,oh" and pulls mothe'rs clothes. Signs when wanting drink.
G7 Points, perhaps cries.
G8 Points.
B9 Reaching and pointing. Drags mother to microwave when he wants something to eat - takes glass to sink and says "papa" when wants water ("pani" means water).
B10 Points and says "give me"

(b) Request for action. How does _ let you know if she wants to be picked up?

G1 Climbs up or lifts up arms.
G2 Lifts up arms.
G3 Says "bao".
B4 Nothing.
B5 Lifts arms up, pulls at mother's arms.
B6 Lifts arms.
G7 Lifts arms , says "up".
G8 Pulls.
B9 Lifts up arms and says "ja".
B10 Lifts up arms.

(c) Request for assistance. If _ needs your help, for example if she was on a toy with wheels and got stuck, or needed straps undone to get out of the buggy, what is she likely to do?

G1 Cries.
G2 x
G3 Calls for someone to help.
B4 Nothing.
B5 Pulls at mother if he can reach her, otherwise cries.
B6 Cry.
G7 Cries.
G8 Cries.
B9 Says "uhuh", pulling noises.
B10 x

(d) Request for recurrence. If you were bouncing _ up and down on your lap and she wanted you to do it again, how would she let you know?

G1 x
G2 x
G3 Pulls, bounces.
B4 x
B5 Makes little bouncing movements.
B6 x
G7 Carries on moving.
G8 x
B9 Makes pleading sounds "nene".
B10 x

(e) Request for information. If _ notices something she does not know about (such as something new at home), how does she ask you about it?

G1 x
G2 Looks at new clothes, ignores other things.
G3 Points to it.
B4 x
B5 x
B6 Stares at it.
G7 x
G8 Points.
B9 Takes a lot of interest in new things - stares, examines but does not ask.
B10 x

3. Rejecting.

If _ is at the table and you are giving her some food that she does not want, what is she likely to do?

G1 Closes lips and pushes food away.
G2 Pushes it away.
G3 Pushes, waves hand, grimaces.
B4 Pushes it away, spits it out.
B5 Pushes food away, closes lips and teeth tightly so it cannot be pushed into his mouth.
B6 Shuts mouth, pushes it away. Sometimes he shakes his head.
G7 Push it away.
G8 Pushes it away.
B9 Spits out and grimaces. Says "nei" [no], also says this when he has had enough.
B10 Shuts mouth.

4. Greeting.

(a) Greeting on arrival. If a familiar person comes to your home, how does _ usually react?

G1 Takes no notice.
G2 Shakes hands when told to do so.
G3 No proper greeting.
B4 If likes someone, goes to sofa and pats it.
B5 Reacts to mother, father: will run to them, name them. Does not respond to others.
B6 Embraces father, goes up to other well known visitors.
G7 Is shy, hides face.
G8 Holds out hands to Father, does not approach other visitors.
B9 Calls mother by name - when she comes in, runs to grandmother saying "Amina, Amina". Jumps up and down and holds out arms.
B10 Smiles and shouts.

(b) Greeting on departure. What does _ do when someone is going away?

G1 Waves.
G2 Waves bye-bye.
G3 Says bye bye.
B4 Says bye-bye and waves with prompting; spontaneously blows kisses to baby.
B5 No reaction at first, but waves after they have gone.
B6 Sometimes waves in imitation.
G7 Waves, says bye-bye.
G8 Sometimes waves with prompting.
B9 Used to cry, but now waves and says bye-bye when told to do so.
B10 Nothing.

5. Self Expression and Self Assertion.

(a) Expression of emotion. Pleasure. If _ is enjoying something, how would she show it?

G1 Nothing.
G2 Claps hands.
G3 Claps hands, laughs.
B4 Laughs, claps hands.
B5 Smiles, laughs and claps hands - when very excited also pulls mother's or baby sister's hair.
B6 Laughing and smiling.
G7 Laughs, claps.
G8 Claps hands.
B9 Claps hands, laughs, runs in circles and jumps up and down.
B10 Laughs, shouts.

Upset. If _ is hurt or upset about something, how would she let you know?

G1 Cries.
G2 Kicks, cries, pinches.
G3 Cries, goes to parent for cuddle.
B4 Cries.
B5 Cries.
B6 Sits very quietly when angry - cries if upset.
G7 Hits furniture, cries.
G8 Crying.
B9 Clenches fists and grimaces.
B10 Cries.

(b) Asserting independence. If you are trying to help _ do something like get dressed and she wants to do it without help, how does she let you know?

G1 Cries.
G2 Struggles.
G3 Wriggles.

B4 Wriggles, struggles.
B5 Always happy for mother to do anything with him - but sometimes screams if bit of rubbish he is playing with is taken away from him.
B6 Pulls away.
G7 x
G8 x
B9 Wriggles and screams.
B10 Wriggles and screams.

6. Naming.

If _ sees something she recognises, how does she label it?

G1 Says "kutta" [dog] - only word used at home.
G2 Uses gestures or Makaton signs.
G3 Uses own word.
B4 x
B5 x
B6 Signs for drink, otherwise points and others name for him.
G7 x
G8 Only says "kutta" [dog].
B9 "papa" for water, animals "googoogirl" or "googooboy". Dances to disco music and laughs when sees people fall on tv.
B10 Calls one brother by name, "obuh" water.

7. Commenting.

(a) Comment on Object. If you were tidying a room and you picked up a toy or piece of clothing, what sort of thing would _ be likely to say about it?

G1 x
G2 Nothing.
G3 Gives her name for it, if she has one.
B4 x
B5 Nothing.
B6 Nothing.
G7 Looks, says nothing.
G8 x
B9 x
B10 Might shout "me".

(b) Comment on non-existence. If _ noticed that something was not where she expected it to be, how would she comment?

G1 ?
G2 ?
G3 Goes to look for it.
B4 ?
B5 Says nothing
B6 ?
G7 ?
G8 ?
B9 ?
B10 ?

8. Giving Information.

How would _ let you know about something that had happened that you weren't aware of (for example, something got broken, someone visited or got hurt when you weren't around)?

G1 x
G2 x [But child does in school.]
G3 Runs and cries.
B4 x
B5 x
B6 x
G7 x
G8 x (Never left alone! So an adult would tell anything to be told)
B9 Points, if grandmother tells mother about something that happens when she is out, he points and vocalises while she is telling. If he breaks something he brings and shows the pieces.
B10 x

B. Response to Communication

9. Gaining child's attention.

If you want to get _'s attention, how do you do it?

G1 Do not expect to get her attention.
G2 Call her name.
G3 Call her by name.
B4 Call his name.
B5 Moving close to him and saying his name.
B6 Call his name.
G7 Say her name.
G8 Call her name.
B9 Call his name.
B10 Saying his name.

10. Interest in interaction

If you are sitting close to _ and talking to him, how does he generally respond?

G1 Looks at and handles mother's clothes.
G2 Looks, moves body, taps mother.
G3 Joins in, using sounds.
B4 Responds sometimes to inlaws who speak

to him in English. Mother does not speak to him much because she does not know any English.
B5 Makes eye contact, moves body and face and makes "conversation" with sounds.
B6 Makes some sounds.
G7 Looks, makes eye-contact, sometimes makes sounds.
G8 No response (sits passively).
B9 Joins in making sounds and imitating. Is beginning to take turns.
B10 Looks, laughs.

11. Understanding of gesture.

If you point to something you want _ to look at, what does he usually do?

G1 x
G2 Looks, if near.
G3 Looks.
B4 Gets glasses if told to look, but soon looks back to T.V.
B5 Looks, but after a delay of several seconds.
B6 Looks.
G7 Looks.
G8 x
B9 Looks even if it is quite far away.
B10 Usually takes no notice.

12. Acknowledgement of previous utterance

When you are speaking to _ how do you know that he realizes that you are speaking to him?

G1 Looks and makes "mmmm" sound.
G2 Looks, smiles.
G3 Makes sounds in response.
B4 Looks.
B5 Looks at face, makes "aaah" type noises.
B6 Looks and makes "mmmm" sound. Does pretty much as told.
G7 Looks.
G8 x
B9 He looks and makes sounds.
B10 Looks, smiles and makes sounds.

13. Understanding of Speaker's Intentions.

(a) Response to request for action. If you give _ a simple instruction such as "Go and get your coat" how does he respond?

G1 Not tried.
G2 No response expected, but goes out when told in Punjabi to "go to bus".
G3 Fetches it.
B4 No attention to mother, but she thinks he may do sometimes to inlaws who speak to him in English, but not sure.
B5 Goes off, but messes about with object.
B6 Fetches it if in same room.
G7 Does not bring.
G8 Goes to mother, knowing it will be fetched for her.
B9 Responds appropriately.
B10 x

(b) Response to request for information. If you ask _ for information, for example "where have you put teddy?" how is he likely to respond?

G1 Sometimes looks, usually not.
G2 No response (has no toys, throws everything about).
G3 Looks around and fetches it.
B4 Nothing.
B5 Looks for object.
B6 x
G7 Looks.
G8 x
B9 Looks for, rather than give an answer.
B10 x

(c) Response to indirect requests. If someone comes to the door or telephones and asks "Is Mummy there?", how does _ respond?

G1 Comes to mother, but says nothing.
G2 x
G3 x
B4 Nothing.
B5 No response.
B6 Opens door to look for mother.
G7 x
G8 x
B9 Looks for, calls out "Amina".
B10 x

14. Anticipation
How does _ react to something like 'Round and round the garden' or a favourite nursery rhyme?

G1 x
G2 x
G3 Doesn't play such games or say rhymes at home.
B4 x
B5 Giggles in anticipation of tickling.
B6 x
G7 Likes music, not rhymes, no anticipation games played.
G8 x
B9 Joins in saying "baba black sheep"

properly , makes sounds for other rhymes, and objects to changing to another rhyme before ready.
B10 x

15. Responding with amusement

What sort of things make _ laugh?

G1 Nothing.
G2 ?
G3 When she is well, laughs a lot when playing and chasing with other children.
B4 Playing with uncle - plays "cricket" with him - with a bat and ball in the living room.
B5 Tickling, swinging in the air or chasing.
B6 Playing with other children.
G7 Music.
G8 Does not laugh.
B9 Putting something on mum's head, so it drops to the floor, seeing someone fall over, dropping things downstairs.
B10 When another child is told off. Laughs when he is told he is going out.

16. Response to "NO" and Negotiation.

If you have to say "no" to _ how does he usually respond?

G1 Accepts.
G2 Takes no notice, or has tantrum.
G3 Sometimes accepts it, sometimes has tantrums, sometimes keeps asking.
B4 Ignores.
B5 Stops, looks, does again - makes game of, laughing.
B6 Occasionally angry, other times becomes very quiet.
G7 Cries, has temper tantrum.
G8 Sometimes say no - she accepts it.
B9 Has tantrums if T.V. is put off while he is watching. Sometimes has tantrums when out, especially if not taken to Doctor's surgery when nearby.
B10 Laughs and carries on.

If you say "In a minute," how does _ respond?

G1 x
G2 Does not understand.
G3 Doesn't understand.
B4 Ignores.
B5 Gets cross.
B6 ?
G7 No understanding.
G8 x
B9 Understands in some contexts.
B10 x

C. Interaction and Conversation

[These two questions were regarded as an introduction to the following section. Two mothers answered them directly, others waited for the subsequent questions]

On what occasions do you feel that you and _ communicate well?

B4 [Does not try to communicate with him. She believes that as he is learning English in school she should not speak Punjabi to him, and she knows no English].
B9 When alone.

Can you describe a recent occasion when you and _ communicated with one another?

B4 No.
B9 Sitting together, playing at questions and answers, saying nursery rhymes and looking at books.

17. Initiating interaction.

How would an interaction between you typically begin? Do you always start off the interaction, or does _ sometimes do so? How does he do it?

G1 x
G2 x
G3 Mother usually starts, but sometimes Tasleem comes to mother and says "abe".
B4 x
B5 He sometimes starts by pulling at clothes or saying "ammi".
B6 ?
G7 Mother always starts, calls Jamila.
G8 No.
B9 Comes to mother, cuddles her and says "googoogirl".
B10 Catches mother's or grandmother's eye.

18. Maintaining interaction or conversation.

(a) For how many turns would an interaction/conversation like this continue?

G1 n.a.
G2 n.a.
G3 Several.
B4 n.a.

B5 Usually one each, sometimes two or three.
B6 n.a.
G7 x
G8 n.a.
B9 Indefinitely, sometimes all day.
B10 ?

(b) When it is _'s turn in the conversation what is he generally doing?

G3 Sounds and gestures.
B5 Body movements and sounds "aaah"
B9 Makes sounds, sometimes imitation of words.

[Some of the following questions were not put to all mothers]

19. Intelligibility.

How well is _'s conversation understood by you?

G3 Well.
B5 As expression of loving and needing attention.
B6 Makes wishes understood.
G7 No.
G8 ?
B9 Well.
B10 Well.

How well is _'s conversation understood by close family?

G3 Usually.
B6 Understand most things.
G7 ?
G8 n.a.
B9 Well.
B10 Some.

How well is _'s conversation understood by other people who know the child?

G3 No.
B6 No.
G7 No.
G8 n.a.
B9 Occasionally.

How well is _'s conversation understood by strangers?

G3 No.
B6 No.
G7 ?
G8 ?
B9 No.

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20. Presupposition and shared knowledge.

Are there times when _ tries to tell you about something without putting you in the picture as to what he is talking about? How does this happen?

G3 No.
B6 No.
B9 No.

21. Conversational repair.

If _ is trying to tell you something and you do not understand, what does he do about it?

G3 Keeps trying, sometimes gets upset.
B9 Keeps repeating, is sometimes upset.

22. Request for clarification.

If _ doesn't understand something that is said to him how does he show it?

G3 Ignores it.
B5 Looks bewildered.
G7 ?
B9 No.

23. Terminating an interaction.

How would an interaction between you come to an end?

G3 Tasleem walks off.
B5 Looks away - often picks something up.
B9 Mother finishes.

24. Overhearing conversation.

If other people were having a conversation and _ was within earshot, would he react to something he overheard? If so, what?

G1 No.
G2 No.
G3 Comes and says "aw" [yes] if hears own name.
B4 No.
B5 Own name; icecream; biscuit; weetabix. He looks and pulls on hearing these.
B6 Own name, biscuit.
G7 No.
G8 No.
B9 Own name, going out, chocolate.
B10 If he hears the words for "going out" in

either language.

25. Joining a conversation.

Does _ ever want to join in a conversation that other people are having? How does he try to go about it?

G1 No.
G2 No.
G3 Pulls and makes sounds.
B4 No.
B5 Makes noise, pulls at mother. He likes to be in the middle.
B6 No.
G7 No.
B8 No.
B9 Comes hugging and makes noises.
B10 Makes lot of noise to join in conversation.

D. Contextual Variation

26. Person.

Are there people whom _ likes to be with or to talk to more than others?

G1 Mother.
G2 Mother.
G3 Mother and Father.
B4 Likes all family equally.
B5 Mother.
B6 All family equal.
G7 Likes mother best, but talks to sisters.
G8 Other children.
B9 Mother. When she is out likes to be with grandmother, but leaves her once mother is in.
B10 Grandmother.

Does the way _ communicates change according to whom he is with? If it changes, in what way does it change?

G1 Never communicates.
G2 More obedient with father, plays up mother.
G3 Best at home, with family.
B5 Does not play about with father - does as told.
B6 No.
G7 Only communicates with mother if mother alone - best with sisters.
B8 Best with children, especially brother, Jehanzeb.
B9 Talks to family, is shy with strangers now. Talks to relations' children and is upset when they do not talk back.
B10 ?

27. Place.

Where is _ most likely to want to communicate?

G1 [School - said after prompt]
G2 [School - said after prompt]
G3 Home.
B4 School. [Unprompted]
B5 Home. Cries in other people's houses, will not sit still and makes trouble.
B6 No difference.
G7 Whenever together with sisters.
G8 When with brother.
B9 At home.
B10 ?

28. Time.

When you are at home when is _ most likely to be communicative?

G1 x
G2 If mother tries to be loving, Salma pinches.
G3 While playing and at mealtimes.
B4 Never.
B5 Whenever mother takes time to play with him. At nappy changing time he plays about and runs laughing away, he messes about at meal times. Likes best to play at bed time.
B6 No difference.
G7 When playing with sisters.
G8 Playing with brother, Jehanzeb.
B9 When playing with mother and at mealtimes . When on toilet says "nei nei" [no, no] and shouts "Amina Aya" [Amina come]
B10 ?

29. Topic.
What does _ like to talk about most?

B6x
G7 Talks with sisters.
G8 Talks with brother.
G9 What he and mother are doing.
G10 x

30. Intrapersonal use of language in play.

When _ is playing alone, what sorts of sounds does he make?

G1 Does not play at home.
G2 Quiet.
G3 Quiet, but is not often alone, plays with brothers.
B4 x
B5 Usually very quiet.
B6 Just vowel sounds.
G7 Plays with sisters.
G8 Silent.
B9 Sounds like talking but not real words.
B10 Usually quiet.

31. Peer interaction.

If _ was in the park and there were other children of about the same age there, how would he communicate with them?

G1 x
G2 Would choose to remain alone.
G3 Would watch them.
B4 Would play alone, ignoring other children.
B5 Not at all - play alone.
B6 x
G7 x
G8 Does not play in park:
B9 Would talk to self and go and babble to other child.
B10 x

32. Books as contexts for communication.

If you are looking at a book together, what does _ do?

G1 x
G2 x
G3 x
B4 x
B5 x
B6 x
G7 [Looks at pictures in school, does not look at books at home.]
G8 x
B9 Sometimes points to objects that mother names, other times stares at them.
B10 x

33 Awareness of social conventions

Does _ show any awareness that there are things he should or shouldn't say in certain company?

G3 No.
B9 No.

APPENDIX 8. VIDEOSCRIPT (ENGLISH VERSION)

The following is my English text which was translated into Urdu and was used in the video described in Chapter 9.

Learning To Talk

This film is about children learning to talk, and some of the ways in which we can help them.

Here we see a young woman talking ... but talking involves more than one person. It takes two or more people to have a conversation.

Some parents think it is up to their child's school to teach the child how to talk. But this is not enough. Helping a child to learn to talk is a full-time job. Everyone who spends time with the child must help. This means parents, grandparents, brothers and sisters - all those people who live with her.
A conversation can happen even when the child does not speak - we must "listen" with our eyes as well as our ears - as we "talk" with our hands, face, eyes as well as our mouths.

Here we see a little boy and his mother. They are watching one another and sharing their ideas. In a way they are "talking" to one another even though Tausif is not using words.

Sometimes, if a mother cannot speak much English, she may worry that, if she tries to help her child to talk her own language at home, it will make more difficulties for him in learning English at school. But this really is not true! I hope that this film will show you that it is important for mother to talk to her child, in her own way, in her own language.

The child belongs to his* family, and being able to talk like everyone else is very important for him.

* [*In Urdu, the word for a 'child' is a masculine form, but used in a non-gender-specific way*].

Also, many of the skills we need to learn one language are the same as for another. Helping your child to learn to talk your language at home, whether you speak Urdu, Panjabi, Bengali, Pushto, French, Arabic or whatever, should make it EASIER for him to learn English at school.

Talking is something people do together - so one of the first things a child needs to learn is that it is good to do things together. Parents, brothers and sisters can use their imagination to find ways of getting a child to enjoy this togetherness - so that the child learns to want to do things with others.

Busy mothers can find ways of involving their child in the work they are doing. Mother shows her child what she is doing in the kitchen, talks about it, perhaps lets her child play with some kitchen equipment if it is unbreakable, has no sharp edges, so is safe. She may be able to find a simple job he can do - mixing, stirring, beating eggs, or when she makes chappatis he may play with some dough too. There are lots of simple, safe, jobs you can think of.

A baby first shows her interest in other people by laughing - and people often try to encourage this by laughing back, or by tickling her to make her laugh more. If a child does not yet show an interest in other people and what they are doing it can help to think up little games that will make him laugh. - playing peeping games, tickling games, chasing him. If he enjoys something you do, he may show in some way that he wants you to do it again...that he is pleased and happy.

When you know he is interested in you, share interests in other things. He will learn through looking and doing things together, with you (or other family members) where the child will show you something that interests him, so that you can do or look at it together.

It might be looking at books, or it could be playing together with a toy car or playing ball. Find things to look at together - maybe when outside you look at a flower together - you show him your interest, and then we hope that one day he will in turn show you something he is interested in.

When he is playing with toys, you might join in, talking about what you and he are doing. All people like to talk about their shared interests - children are interested in toys. Tausif says "Look at this, mum".

There are other things too that a child can say without using words.

Sometimes a baby cries. What is she trying to tell us?
Perhaps she wants her mother, or perhaps she wants some food, or maybe she is tired and wants to sleep. Whatever it is, she is showing that she wants something - and mothers

usually know what it is.
Lionel is tired. He wants a drink of milk and to go to sleep, but he does not know how to say that.

As the child gets older, he finds different ways of showing what he wants, even before learning to talk. He may point to something, or take mother's hand and lead her, or hold up his hands to be picked up. He may even develop more complicated ways of using signs, perhaps to show he wants food by pointing to his mouth, or by showing when he needs the toilet, or showing what games he wants to play.

If he is able to show what he wants, when offering him something, try to give him a choice - show him the two things and see which he chooses, by looking or pointing - so he learns that he can 'tell' you things .

Even before he can use words a child can learn that he can make things happen by 'telling' you his needs even before he will be ready to use words to ask for what he wants .

Tausif's mother is listening to him with her eyes....she wondered if he was asking for something. To help your child learn to ask for what he wants, and to show his interests you need to watch out for what he himself is trying to say.

You can watch your child to see what he is trying to say, to help him learn to ask for what he wants and show what he is interested in.

Talking is about doing things together, sharing our wants and interests. We want to encourage this in our children , so we do things together with them. Family members can help their children learn to talk by helping their children in these ways, and by listening and watching for anything they may be trying to say

Being aware of what your child is trying to say will help a great deal in getting her to talk.

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